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# The American Catholic Sociological Review

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# The American Catholic Sociological Review

Official Publication of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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## Group Antagonisms and International Relations\*

C. J. NUESSE

### *The Focus Upon Intergroup Relations*

DURING recent years unprecedented attention has been given to the problem of improving intergroup relations in the United States. A review of this growth is neither possible here nor directly relevant to the subject of this paper. It may merely be noted that the personnel, money, organization, publicity, time and effort involved far surpass the extent of previous ventures in the promotion of understanding and democratic cooperation. A wide variety of approaches is being used, including such intellectual discussions as those sponsored by the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, the scientific and practical action research programs set up by several community agencies and other interested groups, the comprehensive attack on urban problems of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in Chicago, the more restricted activities of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, or the type of educational planning represented in the over-publicized "Springfield Plan," to name but a few of the better-known projects. Professionally, it is of interest also to note the acceptance among persons practically interested in these tasks of such a new term as "intercultural education," or the use of "intergroup relations" which, despite its more generic sociological meaning, is often identified with rather specific types of endeavor in current literature.

It is obvious that not many of the developments in this field are really new. Whatever novelty they possess is within the category of means, not ends, for in nearly every case they are represented as attempts to conserve and to renew basic values historically present in American culture. These values are usually described as democratic, and democracy is taken as America's great contribution to social thought. Moreover, compared with other nations of the West, as Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist, has observed, the people of the United States have "the most explicitly expressed system of general ideals in reference to human interrelations."<sup>1</sup>

\*A paper read to the Eighth Annual Convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society at Chicago, December 27-28, 1946.

<sup>1</sup> *An American Dilemma* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), 1: 3.

It is understandable that, as the United States has become increasingly involved in world affairs, there has been a tendency to think in terms of extending these ideals internationally. "Making the world safe for democracy" and winning the "Four Freedoms" for all peoples have been the highly moral aims offered by national leaders in the First and Second World Wars. Both have been stated in global, not national terms. Unfortunately, in international contacts our aims and methods have often been presented naively and with an attitude of moral superiority. There is a popular assumption that all peoples will want to emulate us if they are but given the chance. But few would question the wisdom of building into the structure of peace those principles which are the foundation of "the American way."

Our democratic spokesmen are not unmindful of the fact that we must deserve emulation. To this end they call upon us to purge ourselves of anti-democratic attitudes, to set to work upon our national problems, to perfect our way of life. Confronted with menacing doctrines abroad and at home, conscious that the United States must play one of the leading parts in what seems so largely a two-power world drama, molders of American opinion urge attention to the promptings of the national conscience. Their injunction is sometimes phrased in this fashion: "The most certain way to destroy dictatorship abroad is to establish democracy at home."<sup>2</sup> As a general proposition this is an oversimplification, but it calls attention to the existence of other values in our culture which contradict our democratic ideals, among them the class, ethnic, economic, racial, and religious antagonisms which now produce intergroup opposition rather than cooperation. A statement of the challenge more explicitly in these terms is offered by Louis Wirth:

Our external strength is measured by our internal unity. Hence, our capacity to play the significant role which history has thrust upon us rests on our ability and our will to conquer the group prejudices which, if allowed to persist and flourish, will disappoint the hopes of the world.<sup>3</sup>

#### *National Unity in Wartime*

Such a warning prompts a logical inquiry: *how* do the group tensions which mark our national life produce detrimental effects in

<sup>2</sup> Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, quoted in the *New York Times*, December 14, 1946.

<sup>3</sup> "The Unfinished Business of American Democracy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 244: 1 (March 1946).

international relations? Intergroup relations on a world scale are, after all, on a different basis from intergroup relations within a nation. For within a nation, groups, whether friendly or hostile, may enter directly into relations with one another. But relations across national boundaries are *transmitted* through another group, the nation-state, which requires allegiance of all the persons and groups within it.<sup>4</sup> Group antagonisms, like partisan politics, are supposed to stop "at the water's edge." Before generalizing about their consequences for international relations, therefore, it is necessary to reckon with the facts of national loyalty and nationalism. A brief review of our wartime unity may lend itself to this purpose.

In our recent experience, antagonisms have been effectively subordinated to the "war effort" by appeals to patriotic duty and to the symbols of nationalism. While engaged in war, members of a multi-group society such as ours are inclined to believe themselves exposed to unique perils because of the presence of minorities. Fears that some minority groups may be traitorous are quite common, and, though relatively less prevalent in the Second than in the First World War, they made possible the ill-devised "relocation" policy adopted toward citizens of Japanese descent. Apart from such action to forestall supposed "fifth columns," conciliation between groups was attempted, mainly for the practical reason of "getting on with the war," but supported also by a widespread opinion that minorities suffering from discrimination might be susceptible to enemy propaganda. In addition, since modern wars are conceived as "total," psychological warfare was carried on against the enemy and a kind of cult of morale was fostered within the nation to stimulate patriotic expression. Under such influences, both private and governmental bodies circulated special propaganda dramatizing the potential effects of group antagonisms.

Intensive studies of wartime communications have not been completely reported, but enemy propaganda seems to have been singularly ineffective in its appeals to groups involved in tensions. German and Italian propaganda was directed to well-known types of isolationists before American entry into the war, but if a few organizations and publications actually followed the Nazi line rather closely, there is no evidence that the propaganda was an important cause of isolationism or discontent. Attempts to stir dissensions within the United States were allotted relatively little time by Radio Berlin.

<sup>4</sup> An attempt to formulate this sociologically has been made by Werner S. Landecker, "International Relations as Intergroup Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 5: 335-39 (June 1940).

but were apparently regarded as crucial since they were used most intensively only at critical periods in the war. Then vicious attacks were made against Jews and contradictory broadcasts were directed to white and colored groups.<sup>5</sup> Studies of short-wave listening have shown that few people tuned in to hear these broadcasts. Some of those who did were sympathetic with what they heard, partly because of continuing identification with the countries of their origin, mostly because of resentments springing from discriminations suffered in America; but many more were apparently casual listeners seeking "thrills" or satisfying their curiosity.<sup>6</sup> Some popular writers have linked enemy broadcasts with rumors circulated against certain minorities in this country, but there seems to be no positive evidence to support the charge. The efforts of the enemy nations to utilize existing antagonisms for their purposes were largely wasted.<sup>7</sup>

Social scientists might well have anticipated this wartime national unity, which probably surpassed that which prevailed during any previous conflict in which this country was engaged.<sup>8</sup> Sociologists surely can appreciate the truth in an old French saying that people do not unite for, they unite against. Whatever groups serve as objects of antagonism to each other during years of international peace, these must take second place to the national out-groups during war. Hence labor agreed to the "no-strike pledge," politicians subdued their partisanship, industrialists accepted priorities, housewives submitted to rationing, school boys and girls disavowed their prejudices in public programs. All groups joined to express their antagonisms toward the symbols of enemy nations. It is our misfortune that, as an anthropologist has remarked, "War is the one situation in our society when we rally for mutual advantage and call on every man to show group loyalty."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Philip E. Jacob, "The Theory and Strategy of Nazi Short-Wave Propaganda," in Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton (eds.), *Propaganda by Short Wave* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), 51-108; Harold D. Lasswell, "Describing the Contents of Communications," in Bruce L. Smith, Harold D. Lasswell, and Ralph D. Casey, *Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion; A Comprehensive Reference Guide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), 75-76 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Jerome S. Bruner and Jeanette Sayre, "Shortwave Listening in an Italian Community," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 5: 640-56 (Winter 1941).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Herbert Blumer, "Morale," in William F. Ogburn (ed.), *American Society in Wartime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 227-28.

<sup>8</sup> See the judgments of Blumer, *ibid.*, and A. M. Schlesinger, "Do We Have National Unity?" *The New Republic*, 106: 140-43 (February 2, 1942).

<sup>9</sup> Ruth Benedict, "Primitive Freedom," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 169: 762 (June 1942).

But this wartime unity was, on the face of it, temporary in character. Headlines since the surrender of Germany and Japan have adequately documented this assertion. Our wartime morale was directed principally toward what Herbert Blumer has termed a goal of national expediency or practical necessity, rather than toward a romantic or sacredly conceived goal. Such a view implied merely "the suspension of previous aims and values rather than their transformation."<sup>10</sup> There were sharp divisions in the population on the eve of war. After its declaration all groups accepted the necessity of victory, but "Let's get it over with!" was perhaps the most typical expression of their sentiment. Intergroup opposition was not overcome at its source — a genuine effort in that direction was hardly made and some outbreaks of interracial violence were not even prevented. Antagonisms were for the most part simply held in check — "for the duration." They remain to divide us in the postwar era.

#### *Groups Related to Foreign Nations*

Anything like a complete cataloguing of the possible effects of group antagonisms upon international relations is out of the question here. The previous considerations may provide a certain perspective, however, in reviewing some of the sources of concern in our contradictions of democratic values, and in indicating how national loyalty, especially in time of war, circumscribes the expression of group antagonisms. These factors must be taken into account in tracing the effects of such attitudes throughout the world.

A preliminary survey reveals at least five different types of channels through which domestic tensions may enter into international relations. First, there are direct channels where groups which are the agents or objects of antagonism have relations with foreign states. Second, some groups, while not so connected, have sympathetic or antagonistic attitudes toward foreign affairs which are transmitted into international relations through the influence these groups bring to bear upon the national government. Third, domestic tensions may modify a nation's possibilities for action in the international sphere and so change its position in the power structure of the world. Fourth, some consideration must be given to the effects of knowledge about antagonisms upon the prestige of national symbols abroad. Finally, some antagonisms may be spread through acculturation as contacts among peoples are increased.

<sup>10</sup> Blumer, *op. cit.*, 229.

The first and second types of channels are the most visible. In the first case, the groups in question have existing or potential lines of communication with foreign states. The actions and attitudes of their members toward non-member persons and groups in national life are dictated by sympathies for other sovereign powers, whether these extend to complete subservience or not. Within the nation, the degree of favor or disfavor accorded to these groups is correlated with the prevailing attitudes toward the national powers with which they maintain relations. On the other hand, antagonism toward such groups may create or intensify antagonism toward the foreign nations with which they are identified. Thus, American Communists are opposed as agents of the Soviet foreign policy, and are also frequently described as the greatest handicap to Russian popularity within the United States.

The clearest example of this situation involves a domestic group which is simply the agent of a foreign state and therefore subversive of national independence. Communist parties everywhere serve within their respective national environments the interests of the Soviet Union. This aspect of their organization may be obscured for some persons by attention to ideological factors, as party members currently maintain that they have no foreign allegiance or international body, but the record is open in the twists and turns of the "party line." All peoples and governments not willing to be drawn within the Russian orbit must oppose such parties. On their part, Communists may be expected to "turn on and off" expressions of antagonism or sympathy toward other groups — economic, political, racial, religious, as the case may be — as these fit into their strategy and tactics. Moreover, because the party is a subversive group with a revolutionary ideology, its adherents strive to promote dissensions and to create confusions which will provide a fertile soil for their propaganda. They declare — boldly in some countries, not so boldly in others — and they have demonstrated by their actions in the Second World War, that they will stand with Soviet Russia even against the nations in which they hold citizenship.

Similar groups involved in domestic tensions may be identified as potential rather than actual agents of foreign states. Irredentist minorities are highly visible and, unless assimilated, stand ready to serve their original national group when it calls upon them, as did the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia. Antagonism is directed against them because of their well-known sympathies, and such opposition in turn strengthens their own bonds of unity, making



assimilation virtually impossible. Exile groups within a nation also represent foreign powers, sometimes having their own governments-in-exile. Though these are not usually subversive, they commonly strive to influence a host nation toward diplomatic or military action which would enable them to return to power in their homelands. If they wield important influence in such a direction, or even if they are only suspected of doing so, they are subject to opposition from native groups opposed to such a policy. Various refugee groups in the United States during the most recent pre-war period were accused of "war-mongering" by isolationists. Opposition on such a ground may also be associated with other hostile attitudes of the type of anti-Semitism.

In numerous instances non-subversive groups of various kinds maintain relations with foreign states, as when commercial enterprises do business with them directly, or, through their license, with groups within their borders. In so far as these are legitimate and contractual relations and the respective nations are friendly, no difficulties are presented. If such groups are involved in class, political, or religious conflicts in the countries of their origin, however, domestic tensions may immediately take on international significance. Foreign businessmen, industrialists, and financiers, fearing the danger of Communist advance in their countries during the twenties and thirties, lent sympathy to the growth of Fascism and Nazism, just as these movements were supported by similar classes within Italy and Germany. Even some Americans believed it was possible to "do business with Hitler." The readiness with which civil wars are today transformed into international conflicts may also be taken to illustrate the explosive possibilities of these relations.

#### *Groups with National Antagonisms and Sympathies*

While groups such as these may channel their antagonisms and sympathies directly into international relations, in a far greater number of cases such attitudes must be transmitted through influence exerted upon the nation's foreign policy. This process, too, is usually quite visible, but organizations in this category are not related to foreign states. Ethnic, religious, and political factors usually provide the basis for association. The allegiance of the groups to the nation is not in question; the attitudes which they manifest are, in fact, usually reinforced by a virile nationalism. Some historical experience, either in the Old World or the New, or more likely in both, has



resulted in the formation of attitudes. In their derivation and perpetuation, nationality will be found closely linked with religion, ethnic solidarity, language, occupation, or other cultural factors. In the light of its attitudes each group formulates its demands in the political realm. These necessarily reflect the tensions experienced by the group and may also provide the occasion for further antagonisms. To some extent, any efforts made to influence foreign policy will become involved in intergroup relations as sources of tension. Tensions and demands may be conceived as in reciprocal relation.

Americans will think immediately of the numerous immigrant groups which have preserved ties of sentiment with their fatherlands while being assimilated into American life. These ties are naturally strongest for the first and second generations, but survive longer under certain circumstances. Pride in the achievements of "the old country" and indignation at its subjection to trials promote group solidarity among those who have forsaken it for new opportunities or in fear of its persecutions. To note a current example, since 1939 Polish-American societies have been vitally concerned about the fate of Poland. They now condemn the government in power in that country for its policies and its sponsors, and seek to influence American opinion and policy accordingly. Their attitudes enter into international relations, however, only in so far as they are successful in modifying the foreign policy of the United States. Another illustration, where the prevailing attitude is negative rather than one of positive sympathy, may be found in the tenacity with which otherwise well-assimilated Irish-Americans hold to their prejudices against Britain, the old-time oppressor. This, along with their religion and other characteristics, becomes a ground for the maintenance of class barriers against them, especially in older parts of the country. The fact that these minorities incur the antagonisms of native or older-immigrant groups tends to increase their feeling of solidarity and preserve their identity. If they are politically significant, the attitudes which are nurtured in these tensions have undoubted effects upon the conduct of foreign affairs.

Pressures affecting foreign policy may also be brought to bear upon government by groups whose interests in a foreign nation do not involve nationality but some factors to which it is linked. The American Catholics who support the Franco regime in Spain, for example, are not interested in Spanish nationalism, but believe alternative governments to be anti-Catholic, aside from other aspects of the question. Their loyalty to the Church prompts them to inter-

vene in behalf of what they term "a Catholic country." For this they are labeled "fascists" by some of those who support, let us say, the Spanish government-in-exile. Other examples from the ethnic and religious fields may be found in the case of Zionists among American Jews who are interested in founding a Jewish national state in Palestine, though they personally have no intentions of emigrating there. Greater numbers press for anti-British developments in foreign policy because of real and imagined deceptions and injustices in connection with the handling of the Palestine issue.

The convictions represented in these instances are reinforced emotionally by ethnic and religious prejudices in current American life. Antagonisms rise and increase in a circular pattern: anti-Semitism or anti-Catholicism or any similar prejudice is countered by a stronger in-group reaction, this increases social distance further, and so the process continues unless other developments interfere at some point. In regard to such a matter as foreign policy, this means that at each step the "publics" which carry political weight grow farther apart.

#### *Group Tensions and National Power*

It is easy to observe how groups interested in foreign affairs press their conflicting demands upon the American public and the Department of State. Such pressures are often highly organized and widely circulated through newspapers, radio, and various kinds of campaigns. All are conscious of attempts to influence the direction of policy. But policy of any kind requires power for its implementation. It is here that another type of effect of group antagonisms in international relations may be found.

A nation's possibilities for action may be so affected by internal divisions that its position in the power structure of the world is radically altered. This effect is not so easily or willingly traced until a crisis or, in extreme cases, a military collapse makes it evident. France, in defeat before the German armies in 1940, has served as the most outstanding recent object lesson in the importance of national solidarity. One aspect of French disunity has been aptly characterized in an interpretation of political trends after 1789:

Thus two Frances were constituted; hostile, mutually suspicious, irreconcilable. Republican France sliding from liberalism to radicalism, from radicalism to socialism, and finally to communism; traditionalist France rooted in political intransigence. One France always impatient for the new; the other ever anxious to preserve or restore the old.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Georges Didier, S.J., "Political Psychology of French Catholics," *America*, 76: 318 (December 21, 1946).

Our own consciousness of group tensions as a potential power-reducing factor has already been mentioned. For us divisions have not yet cut so deeply as to weaken allegiance to the basic symbols of national existence. No group exists here which would find in bitter defeat, as some reactionaries apparently did in France, a kind of personal or collective triumph in the Republic's failure and an opportunity to initiate the "National Revolution." Yet, in the debate over intervention preceding December 7, 1941 — whatever one may believe was then the proper course of action — the hampering effects of cleavages upon the use of national power were clear enough to see. Differences of opinion regarding policy must be debated out in a democracy; it is nevertheless conceivable that the debate might be too long protracted. In so far as group antagonisms in national life are linked to the sides taken in the controversy, they aggravate it, prolong it, and even make it impossible of solution.

A possibility of change in an opposite direction must not be overlooked. Intergroup tensions both arise from and add to frustrations which may find their outlet in national aggression. The psychological relation of frustration and aggressive behavior is well known. Recent German history provides perhaps its best example on a national scale. The German middle classes, the Junkers, the Army, the veterans, the unemployed, all were marked by frustrations and tensions which became especially acute with the depression of the early thirties. They were easily led to scapegoating against the Jews at home, against the powers abroad responsible for Versailles. The symbols of the Third Reich, on the other hand, offered the opportunity of release. To what extent Nazi leaders consciously solved domestic conflicts by national belligerence, as others in history did before them, is not to be known, even after the investigations presented at Nuremberg, but whether consciously used or not, this was the formula for their solution. It achieved a temporary success because of the confused and halting responses of other world powers. Gardner Murphy points the moral:

The hazards [to future world peace] will lie in the creation of hard, organized, frustrated populations with a psychologically rich tradition as regards war, aggressive leadership, and with economic support for aggressive aims, surrounded by soft, unready, unclear national groups, not organized into a tight, unified, clear machinery for the maintenance of peace.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Human Nature and Enduring Peace*, Third Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945), 28.

*National Disunity and International Prestige*

Related to the effects group tensions have upon the power role of a nation are their effects upon its prestige. Power and prestige to some extent go together, though prestige which has no other basis than power is only the correlative of fear. Americans at least like to think that their prestige abroad is better merited, and there would seem to be some justification for their thinking so. This need not be sought wholly in our reputation for economic wealth and high standards of living, which is well-known, nor in the world-wide demand for our gadgets and technical skills. An integral part of our prestige stems from recognition of our basic values, especially when these have been translated into international missions of mercy, programs of relief and rehabilitation, and political and economic justice.

Passing over the conduct of American ambassadors abroad — whether officials, businessmen, missionaries, or armies of occupation — and its effects upon the nation's prestige, there are various examples of how knowledge of our domestic tensions has tended to reduce our standing in foreign eyes. Some evidence may be adduced from the use of these tensions in Axis propaganda. A liberal journalist, following Japanese broadcasts to Asiatic peoples after Pearl Harbor, concluded that the most significant aspect of the "line" against the United States was racial. On the one hand, Japanese spokesmen pointed with scorn to the "mongrel" character of Americans; on the other, they stressed the restrictions, discriminations, and prejudices against non-whites in the population. The Detroit race riots of 1942 and 1943 were seized upon as illustrations of the treatment of colored peoples to be expected from Americans. Commentators asked pointedly: "If these limited rights exist in America, how can Mr. Roosevelt promise them sincerely in the whole world? How can America be fighting for them."<sup>13</sup>

Religious tensions in the United States similarly detract from our prestige in other parts of the world. Anti-Catholicism especially appears to the peoples of Latin America as a manifestation of Protestant dominance and prejudice. It is readily linked with the resentment aroused by sectarian attempts to "Christianize" lands with historic Catholic traditions. In consequence, the *Yanqui* comes under suspicion for his aggressive heresy as well as his economic imperialism.

<sup>13</sup> Saul K. Padover, "Japanese Race Propaganda," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 7: 191-204 (Summer 1943).

*The Diffusion of Group Antagonisms*

Besides these possible channels, there is the likelihood that antagonistic attitudes may be spread directly as a result of increasing contacts among peoples. Group prejudices can be transmitted like other cultural traits under proper conditions. This has certainly occurred in the assimilation of a variety of cultural groups within the United States. It might take place through cultural borrowing on an international scale. Class and economic antagonisms, as cases in point, have been spread with the extension of industrial techniques and capitalist economics. The new prestige of the United States in the aftermath of military victory presents a special challenge. Will the diffusion of our culture traits now taking place include the transplantation of the group antagonisms represented in our culture but still unknown among the peoples with whom we come into contact?

There is a possibility closely akin to this and perhaps more ominous still. Not only may we teach our antagonisms to other peoples, but more certainly we may transmit to them other traits which, within the patterns of their cultures, will have disorganizing effects. Rivalry, a respectable activity in our society, has given us some serious problems; transplanted into the traditional value systems of other cultures, it can prove as demoralizing in its way as the sale of whiskey to the American Indians. The transmission of nationalism from the West to other world regions, which occurred during the last century, brought disastrous results. Introduced into the decadent Ottoman Empire, for example, where native patterns of violence were attached to it, nationalism pitted Turks against Bulgarians, Greeks, Kurds, and Arabs, Moslems against Christians, Arabs against Jews, with all the various consequences now evident in the states of the Near East. One more example. Through our inability to see that democracy in other cultures may be present under different forms from those with which we are acquainted, we may work to impose upon other peoples either by force or persuasion political institutions which will be quite unsuited to them. Chinese democracy, or Latin-American democracy, to cite but two variant types, each rest upon value structures in which the family and the local community provide citizenship roles strikingly different from those developed in the American framework of national parties and federal government. Wholesale adoption of our practices in such cultures produces chiefly class tensions and military dictatorship.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ruth Benedict, "Recognition of Cultural Diversities in the Postwar World," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 228: 101-7 (July 1943).

A fundamental sociological generalization needs to be re-emphasized in connection with the possibility of spreading group antagonisms through contacts with other peoples. Contrary to a widespread belief, friendly attitudes between peoples do not uniformly result from increasing contacts between them. In a general sense, antipathy toward foreigners is found in all types of societies. Unless, on the basis of common central values and appropriate institutions, a social unity is built among interacting peoples, increasing frequency of contact only multiplies potentialities for conflict. Interdependence alone is not enough. To illustrate this principle, Quincy Wright has constructed an index of the relation between cultural contacts and war which shows that warfare increases with the extension of the range and closeness of intersocietal relations. The same conclusion has been reached by Professor Sorokin in his exhaustive researches.<sup>15</sup>

There can be no question about the multiplication of contacts among peoples as a result of modern technology, economics, and politics. But the persistence of cultural diversities is also obvious. "While the economic and political maps of the World have now been 'Westernized' almost out of recognition," as Arnold Toynbee has put it, "the cultural map remains substantially what it was before our Western Society ever started out on its career of economic and political conquest."<sup>16</sup> In this context, nationalism remains as the controlling attitude in international relations. By its nature, it requires that national interests be so conceived as to exclude other nations from the system of values held within one's own nation, thus exacerbating the deeper-lying cultural conflicts. Anachronism that it is, within and among nations nationalism provides a focus for group antagonisms and an instrument for the prosecution of wars. If the "One World" which now exists on a level of functional interdependence is to be made really one in social fact, so that increasing contacts may lead to understanding and peace rather than to friction and to war, nationalistic attitudes must give way to those founded upon a consciousness of world unity.

<sup>15</sup> Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (2 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 380-81, 404, 1114; Pitirim A. Sorokin, "The Cause of War and Conditions of a Lasting Peace," in Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and Robert M. MacIver (eds.), *Approaches to World Peace*, Fourth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), 88-109.

<sup>16</sup> *A Study of History* (6 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1934-39), 1: 151.



*Conclusion*

Perhaps this is the point with which this paper should have begun. What has been attempted represents only an elementary classification of the means through which group antagonisms produce effects in international relations. Strangely enough, in view of the fears expressed regarding these effects, the social processes operative in this area have not often been studied sociologically.

Constructive policies cannot be examined during what remains of this discussion, yet their proper direction may be a little clearer if the analysis presented has been substantially correct.<sup>17</sup> Practical action must be undertaken in many fields, since the foregoing considerations constitute only a phase and not a separate part of the broad problem of the control of group antagonisms. Any diminution of tensions within the nation may be welcomed from the point of view of better international relations, provided it does not result simply from the growth of the particular antagonism that we call nationalism. The symbols of national loyalty can be invoked constructively to this end. A few measures of world-wide application may be singled out as especially pertinent, such as the removal of barriers to international communication, the framing and implementation of an international bill of rights, a constant concern for justice in economic relations, and promotion of intercultural and international educational programs with sound premises. These and similar undertakings are intimately connected with the growth of the United Nations into an effective world organization with a proper sphere of sovereign power.

Each practical step, however, can be efficacious only in so far as it leads to the recognition of common values with which group antagonisms will be incompatible. Tensions arise between groups which conceive their respective interests to be conflicting and which at the same time lack realization of basic common values to limit the area of their disagreement. Peace and harmony prevail within a nation when all its members share beliefs and principles of action which are harmonious and well-integrated and founded upon basic realities. Genuine world peace is possible only on the same condition. The solution of the problems created by group antagonisms in international relations depends ultimately upon the kind of values which men hold.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For some views of the present author, see his article, "A Just Peace and Social Change," *The Catholic University Bulletin*, 13 (4): 2-4, 9-10 (January 1946).

<sup>18</sup> Sorokin has formulated this principle systematically in a paper, "Theses on Group Tensions," in Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and

Pushed to its logical conclusion, this sociological analysis provokes the philosophical question: Which values are true and abiding, in harmony with the nature of man and the nature of society? On these the structures of national unity and world peace must be founded. They must be universal values, admitting of no exceptions, transcending all cultural differences, acknowledging the unity of all mankind. Catholic thought has always maintained that this unity exists "in law and in fact," as Pope Pius XII wrote in the encyclical, *Summi pontificatus*, alluding to

that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong, and by the redeeming Sacrifice offered by Jesus Christ on the Altar of the Cross to His Heavenly Father on behalf of sinful mankind.<sup>10</sup>

Our mission is to live according to this law and to teach it by word and example, that the antagonisms which now set men and nations against one another may be overcome by justice and charity.

*The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.*

Robert M. MacIver (eds.), *Approaches to National Unity*, Fifth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life (New York: Harper & Bros., 1945), 200-206.

<sup>10</sup> N.C.W.C. edition, 16.



## Le Play's Contribution to Sociology: His Method

SISTER MARY EDWARD HEALY, C.S.J.

IT IS amazing how Frederic Le Play in the midst of the social and ideological chaos of his time held so tenaciously to tradition and avoided many of the pitfalls of his contemporaries. However, since most sociologists today consider his contribution to be in the field of method rather than in sociological generalizations, an attempt will be made to present Le Play's method under the following aspects: history, description, and evaluation.

### *History of the Method*

In 1827 when Le Play was leaving the École Polytechnique, he first conceived the idea of seeking a remedy for the social suffering which he observed in Europe at the time. Although he and his contemporaries were all aware of the increase of suffering resulting from the revolutions of 1789, 1803, 1848, and 1871, they disagreed as to the remedy. There followed a conflict between the "men of tradition" and the "men of novelty."<sup>1</sup>

The "men of tradition" were content to affirm the principles of tradition without applying them to the changing conditions of the times. The "men of novelty" were more zealous in propagating the ideas of Rousseau's *Social Contract* and the three dogmas of revolution: liberty, equality, and the right of revolt. The latter were also imbued with the idea of "progress" and the "development of the human spirit" which would diminish the amount and intensity of suffering.<sup>2</sup> Since there were so many changes in the material order due to an increasing number of inventions, the innovators felt it was necessary to have a corresponding change in the social and moral order. These "men of novelty" felt in "duty bound" to contribute to the furtherance of the "social science" which would procure "happiness" for men.<sup>3</sup> Since the "men of tradition" were so

<sup>1</sup> Frederic Le Play, *Les ouvriers europeens*, (2nd ed., Paris: 1879), Vol. I, Tr. by Professor Samuel Dupertius of Boston University, quoted in Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1935), p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 365.

indolent about taking up the challenge, Le Play and some of his colleagues assumed the responsibility on behalf of the traditionalists. Le Play alone persevered and after a half century of diligent work, he outlined his method and conclusions in Volume I of *Les ouvriers europeens*, 2nd edition, 1879.

In contrast to his friends who considered a new social system as the only remedy for the great social suffering of the time, Le Play thought that social science should be based not on such an *a priori* conception but rather on systematically observed facts and upon an inductive method.<sup>4</sup> After many years of studying facts, Le Play discovered nothing new was needed in order to heal suffering. History furnished innumerable examples of peoples desiring to achieve happiness and to avoid suffering. Where happiness existed among different groups of people, for example, the nomad shepherds of the Asiatic steppes or the city people of Egypt, "the permanent basis of happiness, peace and stability were always pointed out by the wise who governed the families, the workshops, the communities, the cities or the nations."<sup>5</sup> Le Play concluded that the data of social science are the practices and precepts of those wise men who are the real masters of their society. Here we can see the French regard for the "savant." Although history becomes a very necessary foundation for social science, Le Play would not limit social science to a study of manuscripts or history, but would complement it with the observation of contemporary peoples. Since social science was conceived in terms of social reform, Le Play felt that the facts of both the present and the past must be studied. The problem of social reform was very urgent at the time because of the rapid social changes consequent upon the transition from a feudal to a factory system. According to Le Play, then, a scientific explanation of facts was necessary to refute the erroneous beliefs in the "inevitable progress" or in the "inevitable decadence" of humanity.<sup>6</sup> This Le Play defined as his problem for investigation.

### *The Method*

In 1829 when Le Play started his social investigations he was disappointed to find that the method of observation did not seem to be as fruitful in social science as in the physical sciences. His training as a mining engineer caused him to favor this type of method. Although the first studies based on the method of observation were not too encouraging, Le Play continued with the help of many

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 367.

co-workers, especially local leaders who were successful in "preserving happiness in their homes and communities."<sup>7</sup> Despite the variations among peoples and differences in localities, it seemed that people who were satisfied or dissatisfied reacted differently toward essentials. Accordingly, Le Play drew up this hypothesis as a result of his earlier observations, and used it as a guide in his studies.

Everywhere happiness consists in the satisfaction of two principal needs imposed absolutely by the nature of man (daily bread and the essential mores.) Among prosperous races these needs are assured by the social structure. When the social structure is weak, happiness is no longer present.<sup>8</sup>

In order to observe human behavior Le Play decided to study families in all types of societies and to reach his conclusions as a result of such study. The working class family was selected as the typical family to be studied because it represented ninety-five per cent of the population and included the majority of the producers and consumers. Since these families lived in the place where they worked, secured their means of subsistence there, and took part in local affairs, the description of these families furnished a picture of most of the families and also the essential elements of the structure of a given society. Le Play's formula "Place: Work: People" furnished a basis for understanding the structure of society. Just as the geographical conditions affected the type of economic organization, the economic organization helped to determine the kind of family life and the type of family life affected the social structure of the society."<sup>9</sup>

Workingmen were defined as "individuals who labor with their hands on the products which provide for the usual needs of society."<sup>10</sup> This definition included also small capitalists such as proprietary farmers or owners of other kinds of property such as boatmen or tailors.

Le Play maintained that although individuals differ, the observation of a small number of families in the principal kinds of manual labor was sufficient to present a picture of society because the social constitutions tend to offset individual differences. For example, he says that the characteristics of the shepherds on the frontier of Europe and Asia are so similar that it is sufficient to study one family to know them all. The problem is more complicated among the complex races. However, domestic peace of the family in both the simple and complex races depended on the same three fundamental conditions: (1) choice of an excellent heir; (2) moral ascendancy of

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 471.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 472.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 480.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 468.

family authority supported by custom and law; (3) organization of emigration which retains the most useful members of each generation in the home, the workshop, and the community.<sup>11</sup>

Two difficulties presented themselves in observing the workingmen's families. The first, the difficulty of different languages, was overcome by living with the families studied. The second was the organization of all the details of each family studied. In order to understand the family it was necessary to study its material life — work, food, clothing, and other consumable goods: its social, intellectual and moral life, religion, education, recreation and the sentiments of the people. Since Le Play insisted that the methods of studying society by observation were not materially different from those used in studying minerals, he met the second difficulty, i.e., of organizing the data collected by setting up this hypothesis: "all of the acts which constitute the existence of a working family sooner or later tend to influence its income and its expenses."<sup>12</sup> By carefully analyzing the receipts and expenditures, Le Play felt that he could obtain a complete knowledge of the family. Although this method seemed to reduce social science to a study of the material aspects of human life, Le Play considered it a direct approach to the moral and intellectual conditions of the people.

Le Play insisted that the observer must include in his data all the details of the material, intellectual, and moral life of the family being studied, but in the analysis of his data he must differentiate between the more important and less important details so as to avoid confusion in a mass of details. The two essential needs of every family — daily bread and essential mores — were the criteria for guiding the analysis. By daily bread he meant standard of living. Essential mores referred to the natural moral law or Ten Commandments. The happiness or unhappiness of the family and conversely the prosperity or suffering of society were determined by the behavior of the family in regard to these two fundamental factors. All of the necessary details were to be included in the essential part of the monograph, the family budget.

In using this method, Le Play emphasized the great necessity of the observer being very carefully trained in scientific method. As he said, "The true social science must use not only a method but intelligence as well."<sup>13</sup> As a means of ascertaining the facts, Le Play gave three rules to be followed: (1) observe the facts; (2) interrogate the laboring man upon the things which escape direct observa-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 470.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 473.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

tion; (3) obtain information from persons of the locality who have known the family for a long time or who have influence upon its existence through relations of patronage.<sup>14</sup> Every observation was to be verified many times. The information from the three sources was to be checked against each other. Although the family was taken as a basic social unit, it is made up of individuals who are different and are modified by the institutions of society. Therefore the observer must have "phenomenal ability."

Le Play repeats over and over again that his method is the logical outgrowth of continuous observations over a period of years. In 1829 on a field trip required by the École des Mines to study the forests and metallurgy of the Hartz, Le Play met M. Alberts, Director-General of the Mines of Hartz. From him Le Play learned much about the place, the people, and their social organization. He lived with one of the miners and at that time constructed his first case study of family budgets.

From 1832-1848 Le Play was sent as an engineer on many governmental missions. As soon as he finished his duties as engineer, he spent the rest of the time observing and collecting social facts. He travelled in Spain, Belgium, England, South Russia, Italy, France. With the aid of about one hundred collaborators he collected a great amount of data on the families in these areas. To verify his findings he made ten new investigations in France, England, Russia, Siberia, and the Asiatic plains. After 1848 he spent his leisure time "observing facts and seeking the principles of social science."<sup>15</sup>

At the end of fifty years Le Play had completed three hundred monograph studies on workingmen's families in Europe and Asia. Of these only fifty-seven were selected as typical cases representing the chief characteristics of various segments of society. These were given in detail in *Les ouvriers europeens* (2nd edition, 1879). Volume I explained the origin, description and history of Le Play's method and also included a definition of the three hundred words which he considered essential in social science. Volumes II and III contained the families of the East and North, and Volumes IV, V, and VI included the families of the West divided according to the stable, disturbed, or disorganized families. In the introduction to each volume was given an analysis of conditions before 1855; in the epilogue to each volume was presented the changes since 1855.

<sup>14</sup> Charles A. Ellwood, "Instruction in the Observation of Social Facts According to the Le Play Method of Monograph of Families," Tr. by C. A. Ellwood, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II, (1897), p. 66.

<sup>15</sup> Le Play, *op. cit.*, 567.

The monographs about the European workers were divided into three parts: the title, the budget, and the explanatory texts. The title gave the distinct characteristics which differentiated the family being studied from other families of the same class and also distinguished the working class from other classes of society. In the working class one family may differ from another in the profession in which it is engaged, the rank it occupies in the hierarchy of that profession, and in the system by which the family is bound to the head of the hierarchy.

The "social value" of each profession was determined by the aptitude which that profession showed for preserving the mores. As noted before, "daily bread" or means of subsistence and the "essential mores" or natural moral law were always taken together as criteria in these studies. The family was given a rank in the profession according to the social value of its trade. The most common systems in the Occident that determine the level of the family were these six: servant workers, day laborers, workmen by contract, workmen as tenants, owner workers, and managerial workmen. The condition of the worker was determined partly by the economic relationships which existed between him and his master, but more important was the nature and duration of these relationships. This relationship was not peculiar to the worker described but was characteristic of the society to which he belonged. The kind of relationship was an index to the social "constitution" or structure which indicated either peace or discord. The three types of agreements between the workers and master were: forced agreements, permanent voluntary agreements, and permanent forced agreements. These usually succeeded each other as the process of urbanization increased.<sup>16</sup>

In the second part of the monograph, which Le Play considered the most important part, was the family budget. This technique was devised to classify the facts about each family. The basic assumption was that the workers who constitute the majority of the population were also the principal consumers of the product of the soil. Therefore, in order to have a complete knowledge of the family, it was necessary to see what it produced and what it consumed. This would be an index to the material life and also to the intellectual and moral life of the family. Le Play said "As the monographs of *Les ouvriers europeens* demonstrate, there scarcely exists a sentiment or an art worthy of mention in the life of the worker which does not have its corresponding place in the budget of receipts and expenses."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 475, 478.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 481.



The third part of the monograph contained the explanatory texts. First came the tables of income and expenditure. The verification of details was checked by the balance between the totals of receipts and expenditures. Later modifications were made in order to facilitate the use of the monographs. The computation tables were put in an appendix and only net incomes and expenditures were given in the body of the monograph. Besides this change, two sections were added. The first section "Preliminary Observations" served as an introduction to the budget. It contained thirteen paragraphs including the following: the nature of the locality; the organization of the work in that locality; the special characteristics of the family described; the means and modes of existence; the history of the family including its strong and weak points; and finally, an explanation of how the moral, mental, and social condition of the family result in either material well-being or discomfort depending on the relationship between the means of subsistence and the mores.<sup>18</sup>

The second section, "The Diverse Elements of the Social Constitution" contained a description of the social environment in which the worker lived and the good or bad effect it had on him although he was passive in respect to it. For example, in the monographs on the French workers this section in the appendix contained the Napoleonic code of equal inheritance which tended to destroy home ownership among the poor families. Elements of the social constitutions such as laws, acts of rulers, and the example of the ruling class, were put in the appendix as factors affecting the working family but not directly related to the activities of the families.

In regard to the budget, the first series containing the inventory of the property, the furniture, and the clothing was given in the section "Preliminary Observations." The second series comprising the industries which were undertaken by the family to supplement its regular profession or trade is given in the appendix. Each of these partial accounts was arranged in a table showing the balance as profit or loss. The net results were figured in the general analysis of receipts.<sup>19</sup>

#### *Resume and Conclusions*

After Le Play collected all his data and analyzed it he drew the following conclusions:<sup>20</sup>

1. Throughout history two kinds of society have always existed simultaneously: the prosperous society based on

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 588, 595.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 482.

peace and stability and the suffering society characterized by instability and discord.

2. There is a constant process of social change as society passes from one type to the other.
3. Frequency of social change is influenced by three social phenomena.
  - a. Prosperous races form slowly, are loyal to the essential constitutions, and increase peacefully in areas where natural resources are abundant.
  - b. Later, in contacting historical peoples, the prosperous races or societies become rich and learned. If they remain faithful to their essential constitutions they will continue to be prosperous; if not, the elements of decay soon begin to appear.
  - c. Generally they move toward decay by deriving from the fruits of prosperity the three causes of suffering: from riches — vice; from learning — error; and from force, error and vices all the abuses of rapid social change.
4. Social change should be controlled so as to prolong the periods of prosperity and shorten the time of suffering.
5. Prosperous societies meet the two "essential needs" of the individual: a knowledge of the essential mores and the attainment of daily bread.
6. The "essential constitution" of a prosperous society consists in
  - a. Base — respect for the universal moral code and the rule of paternal authority.
  - b. Cements — religion and sovereignty.
  - c. Structure — property regulations under three regimes: (1) community — (2) individual — (3) patron.
7. Races may be prosperous or suffering depending upon their fidelity to the essential constitution and to the satisfaction of the essential needs of man.
8. Races may be simple or complex depending upon their social and economic organization.
9. The real superiority of simple races is one of the most persistent traits in history.
10. The only means of salvation for suffering complex races is the return to the faithful observance of the essential constitution.



11. The problem of social science is to remedy social suffering by keeping or finding again the tradition of the essential constitution.
12. By the method of observation social scientists can discover the means of resolving present discord and restoring social peace.
13. As a result of observation societies or races can be classified as:
  - a. Prosperous societies keeping interior peace without armed force.
  - b. Suffering peoples needing armed force.
14. In order to get the most fruitful data for reform, extreme types should be studied:
  - a. Simple { Prosperous — social peace  
Suffering — social disorganization
  - b. Complex { Prosperous — social peace  
Suffering — social disorganization

#### *Evaluation*

V. Branford wrote in the *Sociological Review*, July 1921, as follows:

The historic school of Montesquieu and Buckle, forgetting rustic labor emphasizes climate as the main determinant of race and civilization. The school of Karl Marx forgetting the natural conditions of place insist on the all-importance of labour. Because it combines the two half truths in these rival schools of thought, the tradition of Le Play is of first rate aid in building up a social science at once objective, detached, verifiable. In short, with Le Play, we enter on a sociology in direct continuity with the more established sciences.<sup>21</sup>

S. H. Swinney in the same *Review*, April 1921, commenting on Le Play's formula of "place, work, folk," says that this hypothesis is perhaps "one of the most original discoveries in the history of science. It opens up a new line of inquiry in sociology not opposed to the historical method but dealing with society from a new point of view."<sup>22</sup>

Likewise, in this same *Review*, Christopher Dawson, in behalf of Le Play says:

Frederic Le Play, the man who, more than any other first brought social science into contact with the concrete bases of

<sup>21</sup> p. 137 ff.      <sup>22</sup> p. 71.

human life, was a striking contrast to the earlier sociologists or rather social philosophers. It was by the observation of the simplest forms of life in their natural economic relations that Le Play and his school arrived at a clear conception of the natural region as the mother and nurse of every primary social type. . . .

Without a true group of regional life and regional individuality, history becomes a literary exercise and sociology a theorizing in the void.<sup>23</sup>

Since Le Play influenced the English sociologists more than any other group, this may explain why they are more favorable to him.

Chas. A. Ellwood in the *American Journal of Sociology*, 1897, states the following:

In the subject matter of social science, observation applied to permanent facts offers guarantees of correctness which do not exist in pure reasoning applied to the variable facts of private or political life. . . . It will be seen from the above explanations that the Le Play family monographs are, in brief, nothing more than the careful and scientific, historical and descriptive study of some single family made by an observer who has entered into relations of closest intimacy with that family. . . . Nations are composed not of individuals but of families. It belongs to the nature of that social unity of which the physical and moral organization of man furnishes the principle and it is in this fact that the practical efficacy of the Le Play method of family monographs resides. The work of observation which would be vague, undefined, and unable to lead to any conclusion, if it had to be extended in one locality to individuals of different sex and age becomes precise, limited, and conclusive as soon as it has for its object families.<sup>24</sup>

Ellwood remarks also in *The Story of Social Philosophy* that Le Play is usually counted as the founder of the social survey method but he is even more the founder of the detailed minute monographic studies of family groups.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, he points out Le Play's methodical assumption that

It is not the business of social science or sociology to seek for any new fundamental principles of social organization or of social progress. The Christian religion has already given to us these fundamental principles.<sup>26</sup>

Floyd House in *The Development of Sociology*, says:

The methods in which Le Play did pioneer work constituted a particularly apt approach to the ideal of quantitative social

<sup>23</sup> pp. 78, 79.

<sup>24</sup> pp. 664, 670, 679.

<sup>25</sup> New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1938, p. 411.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 431.

science though Le Play may not have been entirely conscious of their total implications. For to study social phenomena in their environmental setting tends to involve taking them in their spatial extension and distribution and this facilitates a statistical treatment of the data.<sup>27</sup>

Pauline Young and Calvin Schmid in *Scientific and Social Surveys and Research* state that:

It is generally believed that the case-study method was first introduced into social science by Frederic Le Play as a hand-maiden to statistics in his studies of family budgets.<sup>28</sup>

The same authors note that the concept "participant observation" stressed by Edward C. Lindeman was the method employed by Le Play long ago in his studies of workingmen's families.<sup>29</sup>

Gottfried Solomon in the *Encyclopedia of Social Science* credits Le Play as being "a pioneer in establishing the method of the social survey and in studying family budgets for the purpose of determining standards of living; his work in this field has had international significance."<sup>30</sup>

Carle C. Zimmerman in "The Family Budget as a Tool for Sociological Analysis" says that:

The two most important contributions to sociology which were achieved by the use of the budget as a tool for analysis were made by Frederic Le Play and Ernst Engel. Le Play made the family the unit for his system of sociological study and the budget the primary or starting place in his study of the family. . . . By the use of this method of analysis, Le Play and his followers gave a logical classification of societies according to their types of family organization and were able to explain the process which made one society "patriarchal" and another "particularist." The further ramifications of the studies explained the transition of some societies from one type to the other and the additional social characteristics which were associated with and were inevitably the product of the family type or of the same forces creating the family type. . . . While we may not agree with all that Le Play said and did, we must recognize that he was able to make valuable use of the budget as a tool for analyzing societies. I believe that a modified version of Le Play's method will make valuable contributions to the field of rural sociology.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936, p. 370.

<sup>28</sup> New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939, p. 227.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>30</sup> "Le Play, Pierre Guillaume Frederic," 1 ed. vol. IX. p. 412.

<sup>31</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1928, p. 903-904.

Carl C. Taylor in "The Social Survey and the Science of Sociology" comments thus:

The theory of sociology was not influenced directly by the works of Le Play but it has undoubtedly been very greatly influenced in the last two decades by similar investigations, e.g., studies of family budgets, standards of living, birth and death rates and many similar problems.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, Sorokin in *Contemporary Sociological Theories* puts Le Play "among the few names of the most prominent masters of social science" for creating a scientific method and analysis of social phenomena and elaborating one of the best systems of social science.<sup>33</sup>

H. Higgs in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* discusses the value of Le Play's method in the field of economics, especially in the study of the consumption of wealth as it is affected by custom. He says:

The monographs of Le Play show directly the standard of comfort which plays so important a part in modifying the principle of population and in maintaining the rate of wages. They throw light upon the extent to which real and nominal wages differ; upon the effects of fluctuating wages, correcting the criterion of relative advantage afforded by "average earnings" upon the incidence of this or that indirect tax, or of the whole scheme of taxation upon a particular class of consumers; upon the construction of an index number of a special character. By enlightening public opinion, they make it a valuable deterrent to the employment of men at a starvation wage. It was a shrewd notion of the East London dock-laborers during their great strike, to carry in procession "the docker's dinner" — a herring, cheap vegetables, and a tiny loaf.<sup>34</sup>

In this connection might be mentioned Cardinal Manning's remark at the end of the great dock strike of 1889. "Whatever I have done in this matter has been due to the counsels and teachings of my illustrious master, Le Play."<sup>35</sup>

Higgs continues in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*:

The general and pronounced favor with which such work as Mr. Charles Booth's "Life and Labor in London" is received, the proved utility of a labor correspondent at the Board of Trade, the universal demand for statistics and the success of the Statistical Society, the strong desire of leading statesmen and

<sup>32</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1920, p. 743.

<sup>33</sup> New York: Harper & Bros., 1928, p. 63.

<sup>34</sup> Vol. IV, 1890, 430.

<sup>35</sup> Dorothy Herbertson, "Le Play and Social Science," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XII (Spring 1920), p. 36.

economists for a better and fuller census — these are so many indirect testimonies to the value of such investigations and institutions as are due to the efforts of Frederic Le Play.<sup>36</sup>

Sainte-Beuve credits Le Play with the "tremendous discovery that in social science there is nothing to invent." "No," says Le Play, "but there is everything to learn." Then Sainte-Beuve poses the question: "Can it be learned by this method? Unless shot through with the organic filaments of theory, can his materials take to themselves a body or will they remain a wilderness of single instances?"<sup>37</sup>

In conclusion, Carle C. Zimmerman in *Consumption and Standards of Living* says:

In spite of the profuseness of modern studies of the family, it is extremely doubtful if one could write a *Modern European Workers* or a *Workers of the World* or even an *American Worker* which would be half as accurate as famous chapter twelve in volume I of Le Play's *Les ouvriers europeens*.<sup>38</sup>

It is evident that Le Play is one of the outstanding examples of fidelity to the logic of the inductive method in defining his problem, stating his hypothesis, collecting, verifying and analyzing his data, summarizing and drawing his conclusions. Although his investigations were pointed toward social reform, he insisted that in his observation and collection of social facts that he adhered strictly to the inductive method. Only after fifty years of collecting data and writing three hundred monographs did he draw his conclusions. However, some critics contend that at times his social philosophy affected his selection and interpretation of data.

In studying the family as the basic unit of society Le Play pioneered in the case-study method. Few have excelled him even today in his use of the questionnaire and participant observation as techniques for collecting data. However, many, especially in America, do not accept his ideal types — patriarchal, stem and unstable families. Perhaps these types were more characteristic of his time and area.

The use of the budget as a tool of family analysis was an innovation in the field of social research. It was an attempt to quantify social data for purposes of analysis and comparison. Such a device can be used accurately only if it is supplemented as Le Play did with the case-study method so that the results can be interpreted in the light of the actual conditions of the family and the mores of the community.

One of the most controversial issues about Le Play's method is whether it can be used "per se" or if it must be used only in his frame

<sup>36</sup> p. p. 433.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> p. 385.

of reference — the essential needs of man and the essential constitution. Perhaps that is why so few American sociologists have tried this method.

Other ideas which are somewhat foreign to American sociological thinking are: patronage rather than laissez-faire; solidarism instead of individualism; the ascendancy of the spiritual over the material; the cyclical interpretation of history; the normative approach-social science as a means of social reform; the city as the source of many evils; and his adherence to the characteristically French emphasis on tradition, on the family as the basic unit of society, and on the superiority of the "savant."

Undoubtedly, Le Play has made a contribution to sociology in the field of method. Although he may not be able to attain the whole truth by this method, no method can. He comes closer to it by combining the case study method and the family budget analysis than many contemporary sociologists who adhere strictly to either the subjective or objective approach. It is unfortunate that many sociologists today reject his method because of their bias against his social philosophy.

Sorokin in *Contemporary Sociological Theories* lists the limitations of the Le Play school. These seems to apply more to Le Play's disciples than to him. However, they are worth considering when evaluating Le Play. They are briefly: (1) The method and program does not cover the whole field of social phenomena and social problems; (2) Heredity and race are underestimated and geography is overemphasized; (3) Many problems such as the origin of types of family and correlation of types with the social system are not satisfactorily explained; (4) The applied program is ineffective.<sup>39</sup>

In recent years the English Sociological Society has created a new interest in Le Play's method by publishing many excellent articles in their journal, *The Sociological Review*. Perhaps also, through the work of his recent disciple, Paul Bureau (d. 1923) the method as he used it rather than the ramifications of his school may appeal to the research workers in both sociology and economics. Le Play was attempting to study a society in transition. He was interested in alleviating the suffering caused by frequent wars and depressions. To those interested in our world in transition and especially in postwar reconstruction, Le Play's method offers interesting possibilities.

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<sup>39</sup> p. 97.

## Nationalization in Europe and the Catholic Social Doctrine

N. S. TIMASHEFF

ONE of the most conspicuous changes in postwar Europe is the decline of the social order based on private enterprise and the emergence of a new social order blending the systems of privately owned enterprise and of collectivized, socialized, or nationalized enterprise.<sup>1</sup> The retreating social order is part of the classic structure of liberal society; the admixture is derived from the socialist ideal.<sup>2</sup>

In the large area of Soviet dominance,<sup>3</sup> except Czechoslovakia, the new social order is being introduced simultaneously with a definite movement in the political system going from political freedom<sup>4</sup> towards dictatorship of the type prevailing in the Soviet Union. The combination of mixed economy with dictatorship is tantamount to the reproduction of a model which was realized in Russia from 1921 to 1929, under the New Economic Policy.<sup>5</sup> In free Europe, i.e., in the area outside of the zone of Soviet dominance, as well as in Czechoslovakia, change in the social order is combined with the maintenance of the principles of democracy. This is obviously the case in Great Britain where the Labor government which emerged from the elections of July 5, 1945, emphasizes its adherence to the British tradition of freedom. This is the case of France where the new constitution ratified by the people on November 10, 1946, recognizes the bill of rights and the principle of the sovereignty of the people. This is the case in Czechoslovakia where the basic princi-

<sup>1</sup> The three terms can be used to designate public ownership of the means of production. The last definitely points to state ownership, while the first and the second point to ownership of public corporations.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N. S. Timasheff, *Three Worlds*, Milwaukee, 1946, pp. 226-7.

<sup>3</sup> Including three members of the United Nations (Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), and three former enemy nations (Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria). The Soviet occupied zones of Germany and Austria are not exactly within the zone, since inter-allied agencies exist which somewhat check the dominance of the Soviets.

<sup>4</sup> Which, already before the Second World War, existed in parts of the area rather on the level of social ideals than on the level of reality.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. N. S. Timasheff, *The Great Retreat*, New York, 1946, pp. 113-19.



pals of democracy are still recognized.<sup>6</sup> The combination of mixed, i.e., partly socialized, economics with political liberty is however entirely in the style of the socialist ideal in its opposition to the communist one.<sup>7</sup> The difference between the order now emerging in free Europe and the one entirely conforming with the socialist ideal is rather quantitative than qualitative: in its classic form, socialism believes in the complete abolition of the system of private enterprise. But long ago a revisionist movement started in the ranks of the socialists denying the necessity of the wholesale nationalization of the economic system. The movement reached its climax when, in the fall of 1934, a conference of the Second (Socialist) International, ratified a plan elaborated by the Belgian socialist de-Man according to which, at least for the time being, the economic system must be divided into a public and a private sector. Consequently, as a first approximation, the trend in free Europe may be conceived as an initial stage of the realization of the socialist ideal in its revised form.

In Great Britain, the movement from liberal to socialist society is effected by the Labor Party, without the concurrence of any other political force. In Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party holds the whip being the strongest single party and being also backed by the Soviet to whose zone of dominance she belongs. In France the situation presents the greatest interest because the movement is carried out by a tripartite coalition consisting not only of the socialist and communist parties, but also of the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP) which everybody regards as the Catholic party of France. This party has not simply resigned itself to an inevitable change; to the contrary, from the very beginning it has placed the partial nationalization of the economic system on its banner, and its publications have fought for the program against the parties of the right.

It is obvious that the MRP does not consider as incompatible the Catholic social ideal and the program of partial nationalization. This is the more important as Catholic parties play now a major part in a few more European states such as Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria and Bavaria. If this attitude of the Catholic parties is unchecked, and the political constellation does not substantially change, a movement from the liberal order towards an order blending

<sup>6</sup> In Czechoslovakia, the principle of democracy is imperiled by the official proclamation of the permanent character of the coalition ruling the country since its liberation. Cf. my *Three Worlds*, p. 147.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. my *Three Worlds*, p. 227.



the liberal, socialist and Catholic ideals<sup>8</sup> may be expected to gain momentum in a large part of free Europe.<sup>9</sup>

Out of the nations where this movement has gone well ahead, France is the most important. And France is also the country whose development has been recently checked by the Holy See as to its compatibility with the Catholic social doctrine. In consequence, knowledge of the French ideas and events is crucial for the understanding of one of the most important trends in free Europe.

In the particular combination of social forces behind the movement under study, the participation of the Catholic parties presents the greatest interest. Therefore, the study may well begin with an outline of the programmatic statements of the French Catholics concerning the partial nationalization of France's economic system.

2

The MRP arose as one of the products of the differentiation of the Movement of Resistance which unified all the anti-collaborationist forces of France under German occupation. The program of the National Council of Resistance comprised this clause: "The return to the nation of the large monopolized means of production — power industries, sub-soil wealth, insurance companies and large banks."

In November 1944, the newly born MRP published a manifesto in which it affirmed its revolutionary purpose and demanded far-reaching change in the structure of the state and of the economic system. Planned economy was stressed — meaning that the state would direct economic activity and, in this way, would be liberated from the pressure of the financial magnates. Going beyond that, the manifesto demanded the nationalization of key industries, of private monopolies and of credit and the participation of labor unions in the management of individual enterprises and of the nation's economy as a whole. The trend, though not all the details of the program, received the blessing of Cardinal Suhard, Archbishop of Paris who, about the same time, wrote in *Semaine Religieuse*: "How could the Church not view favorably what tends towards the disappearance of the proletariat? And since it appears that the proletariat is the

<sup>8</sup> On the possibility and the limitations of the cooperation between Socialists and Catholics see Joseph Husslein, *The Christian Social Manifesto*, 1931, pp. 83-85, and my *Three Worlds*, pp. 230-31.

<sup>9</sup> Probably, the Scandinavian nations will not be affected since they have already evolved a cooperative variety of capitalism and have no reasons to depart from it. Cf. my *Three Worlds*, pp. 147-52.

direct product of the liberal capitalist system, why may not the Church desire that reforms of structure be applied to that system?"<sup>10</sup>

When, later on, the program of the MRP was formulated, the problem of nationalization received this treatment: Nationalization is one of the means of placing the nation's economy at the service of the nation and of establishing economic democracy. Among the possible nationalizations, that of credit comes first. Credit and the monetary system must be managed in the common interest and be controlled by the state. This should be done through the nationalization of the private bank system and the creation of a Supreme Council of Credit and Investment which ought to determine the ways and means of financing the general plan of production and reconstruction. To the nationalization of credit, the nationalization of transportation, coal, gas, electricity, oil and the essential raw materials should be gradually added. According to the program, the forms of nationalization may range from complete state administration to workers' cooperatives; but in all cases the workers should participate in management. In all cases, the former owners should receive compensation for the compulsory cession of their property.

In the discussion of this program, the term "reform of structure" has often recurred. According to an article published in *Chronique Sociale de France*, "structure is that permanent and organic element of social reality which is made by men and is subject to human will," versus such elements which "evolve according to their own logic and are impermeable to human intervention."<sup>11</sup> In the same article the idea is expressed that the nationalization of some parts of the nation's economy is a reform of the political, but not of the social or economic structure. The nationalizations, says the author, aim at pushing back those economic organizations which, because of their nature and scope, are able to check the sovereignty of the state and inhibit the promotion of the common good. But the economic structure, he continues, is but slightly modified. Nationalization pushes ahead the process of rationalization and concentration which started already under the capitalist order. Nationalization merely transfers capitalism from the private to the public level.<sup>12</sup> The nature and the aims of

<sup>10</sup> Reported to *New York Times*, December 3, 1944.

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Folliet, "Qu'est ce qu'une réforme de structure," in *Chronique sociale de France*, 1946, No. 1, pp. 24ff. This is a special issue devoted to "reforms of structure."

<sup>12</sup> This is correct so far as private monopoly has obtained, but wrong outside of that situation. Then, nationalization means the elimination of competition. But, within the economic system, the contradistinction of monopoly and competition is paramount.

nationalization circumscribe their limit and determine the form to be given to the nationalized enterprises. Those enterprises must be nationalized which are essential for the external and internal security of the nation as well as those which constitute the "new economic feudalism,"<sup>13</sup> or states within the state neutralizing and checking the activities of the public authorities. As to the form, nationalization should not be tantamount to bureaucratization, i.e., to the transfer of economic power to state officials. To the contrary, it should transfer that power to the representatives of the workers, technicians, consumers and the state.<sup>14</sup>

In another article published in the same review, the particular advantages of nationalization have been enumerated as follows: From the political point of view, the nationalizations aim at the liberation of the state from the pressure exerted on it by thousands of economic power centers, especially in the realms of foreign policy, economic policy and social policy. From the economic point of view, the nationalizations place at the disposal of the nation those riches which today are exploited in the interests of a few; they take care of the most unbearable of the abuses of capitalism, namely the tendency to consider an enterprise as serving only the material interests of the capitalist, but not of the workers and consumers. Nationalization strives to increase production by the amalgamation of weak economic units and the standardization of technical procedures; it also directs credit toward enterprises of common interest. From the social point of view, nationalization could contribute to the restoration of confidence among the workers and of their very desire to work.

The author of this article explicitly exempts from nationalization all the enterprises which have remained on the level of personal relations between management and labor, in other words, the enterprises where the owner, the managers, the technicians and the workers personally know one another and are conscious of their reciprocal roles and common responsibility. As the one cited above, he rejects bureaucratization or the transfer of economic power to the political machinery or to a new economic bureaucracy.<sup>15</sup>

In the same publication, the question of the compatibility of the party program with the Catholic social doctrine was raised and answered as follows: "The attitude of the Christians towards national-

<sup>13</sup> For an interpretation of mature capitalism as "new feudalism" see G. Gurvitch, *La déclaration des droits sociaux*, New York, 1944, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Folliet, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 40-1.

<sup>15</sup> Elie Royer, "Avantages et inconvénients de la nationalisation," *Semaine Sociale de France*, 1946, No. 1, pp. 78-81.

ization is well known. The papal encyclicals can be interpreted as making the question of nationalization of an industry, or of a group of enterprises, a question rather of fact than of doctrine. Equitably achieved nationalizations liberate the citizen and worker from the overlordship of money; such nationalizations are legitimate even if other or better means could achieve the same end. But nationalizations which, because of their scope or character, would enslave men, must be rejected. The directions of the Holy See do not predetermine anything, and it would be childish to consult the encyclicals or the *Osservatore Romano* to find out whether a particular case of nationalization is legitimate or not."<sup>16</sup>

## 3

In one of the speeches made soon after the liberation of France, General de Gaulle said that her economic system must consist of three sectors — public, directed and free.<sup>17</sup> The meaning of the statement was this: The units forming the second and the third would continue belonging to private entrepreneurs, but only those in the third sector would be managed as independently as it is usual in liberal society, whereas those in the second sector would be compelled to obey the direction of public authorities.

General de Gaulle is no longer the head of the French government, but his prediction was correct. In present day France, the economic system really consists of the three sectors circumscribed by him. It is however noteworthy that public ownership of the means of production was not entirely unknown to France of the years before the Second World War.<sup>18</sup> This, by the way, confirms the view that social change is more evolutionary than revolutionary even when it seems to be of the latter kind.

If we dismiss the rather accidental fact that, around the turn of the century, the French state acquired a network of railways in the Northwestern quarter of the country,<sup>19</sup> three waves may be discerned in the formation of the public sector in French economy, prior to the Second World War. The first was an immediate consequence of the

<sup>16</sup> Gaston Puel, "Au-delà de la nationalisation," *ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>17</sup> *New York Times*, October 2, 1944.

<sup>18</sup> On the extent of public ownership in continental Europe prior to the present day nationalizations see my *Three Worlds*, pp. 123 and 148-49.

<sup>19</sup> In 1883, a number of small railway companies were near to insolvency. Especially heavy was their indebtedness to the treasury. The problem was solved by the voluntary transfer of the shares to the latter. In 1908, the same happened with one of the major companies, *Chemins de fer de l'Ouest*.

Versailles treaty according to which the French state acquired the railways of Alsace Lorraine and the potassium mines in Alsace. To operate these mines, it was first planned to create a "mixed society" of the type which then existed in Russia as part of the New Economic Policy,<sup>20</sup> in other words, the shares would be divided between the state and private investors. The Senate rejected the bill, and a "public administration" was created, i.e., a new agency of the bureaucratic type. About the same time, a factory for the production of synthetic nitrogene and its derivatives built by the state in the course of the war was placed under a newly created National Nitrogenic Office which was granted the monopoly of producing and selling fertilizers containing synthetic nitrogene. In this case, another structural pattern was chosen: The Office was placed under a Council consisting of representatives of the government, of agricultural associations and of producers of electrical power.

The second wave was one of the consequences of the Great Depression. In 1932, the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique* (French Line) was in grave financial trouble. The government granted it a subsidy and as a counterpart acquired a large part of the shares as well as the right to appoint the majority of the members of the executive board. In 1933, financial trouble occurred in the majority of the French airlines. A decree of April 14, 1933, amalgamated all these companies into one corporation called *Air France* under a Board consisting of members chosen by the Air Minister from among the shareholders. Then, to promote recovery, a National Company of the Rhone River was created (June 14, 1934) to carry out vast works in the whole valley.<sup>21</sup> The Company is headed by a Board of nine, five representing the state and four — different groups of the consumers of electrical power.

The third wave was one of the aspects of the French New Deal which emerged as the result of the victory of the Bloc of the Leftists in May 1936. On July 25, 1936, the Bank of France, up to that time a stronghold of big business interests, was subjected to a substantial reform which placed it under public control, without transferring its shares to the state. On August 11, 1936, a law was passed which enabled the government to nationalize the defense industries. On August 31, 1937, all the French railway companies, as well as

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A. Baykov, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, Cambridge, 1946, p. 74.

<sup>21</sup> This was the French counterpart of the TVA. However, in contradistinction to the latter, the French counterpart has achieved almost nothing.

the publicly owned networks, were merged into a National Company of French Railways half of the shares of which were taken over by the government.

Thus, in 1939, a small public sector and a small directed sector already existed in the economic system of France. But only in exceptional cases had the procedure of nationalization been applied, nationalization meaning the compulsory transfer of private property to the state, with or without compensation.

After the liberation of France, the public sector started rapidly expanding, this time mainly through nationalization. An ordinance of December 13, 1944, created the National Collieries of the Departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais making state property all the coal mines situated in the two departments.<sup>22</sup> The former owners were granted a provisional compensation depending on the quantity of coal mined in their collieries, to be later on replaced by a definite compensation. The National Collieries were placed under a director general and his deputy, both appointed by the Minister of National Economy, and an advisory council of 24 members, thus composed: 9 representatives of the government, 8 representatives of the employees, 5 representatives of the consumers and 2 representatives of the former owners. To avoid political interference, no member of any representative body can serve on the Council. The collieries are given the direction to follow the business practices and accounting techniques of private concerns, but inspectors of the Ministry of Finance have to check the activity of the new organization.

Of great interest is an official statement of the reasons for the Government's decision published under the title "*Exposé des motifs*" in the *Journal Officiel*: "Only the state possesses now the authority sufficient for the accomplishment of the task [of bringing order into coal mining], so important for the whole economic system of the nation. Only the state is able to act according to a general plan and compel the collieries to participate in the reconstruction of French industry. Only the state is able to impose on the collieries a reasonable plan of production and to proceed to the necessary regrouping of the enterprises. Only the state is able to take care of the interests and health of the workers, settle the industrial conflicts and give the employees the opportunity of participating in the management of the enterprise." Under this dithyramb, not only the socialist, but also the Catholic ministers have apposed their signatures!

<sup>22</sup> The coal production of these two departments forms about two-thirds of the total coal production of France.



The nationalization of the coal industry was followed by a series of similar acts. On January 16, 1945, a National Office of the Renault Automobile Plants was created; the plants had been confiscated at an earlier date, to punish the owners for their collaboration with the Germans. The new Office has been given an organization analogous to that of the National Collieries.

An ordinance of May 29, 1945, nationalized the motor plants *Gnôme et Rhône*. From the *Exposé des motifs* we learn that the Provisional Government first contemplated the application of the law of August 11, 1936, but then rejected it, because the procedure provided by that law would have implied a long delay, and decided to transfer, overnight, all the shares of the company to the state and to operate the enterprise according to the company's charter. "Having achieved an almost monopolistic position," said the government to justify its action, "the company cared only for its profit without any consideration of the common interest." The owners were further blamed for their cooperation with the Germans, and the nationalization of the enterprise was presented to the public as the fulfillment of a patriotic duty. "Only the state," continued the *Exposé*, "has the sufficient authority to achieve the task of producing the motors needed by the aviation industry."

An ordinance of September 17, 1945, nationalized the air transport of France. The nationalization was carried out by the compulsory transfer to the state of all the shares of *Air France* and of two other companies created in violation of the monopoly granted to *Air France* in 1933.

On December 2, 1945, a law was passed by the constituent assembly nationalizing the Bank of France and four among the biggest private banks of France. According to the law, on the Board of the Bank of France the members elected by the shareholders are replaced by members appointed by the government. For each of the four private banks a board is created consisting of eight representatives of the government and four representatives of the employees. The shareholders are compensated by interest bearing bonds, to be redeemed by the state in the course of 50 years. Simultaneously with the nationalization of the five banks, a National Council of Credit has been created to direct and coordinate the granting of credits by all banking institutions, public or private, and to advise the government on economic problems. The Council is headed by a minister designated by the government and consists of the governor of the Bank of France and 38 members representing business, labor, agri-



culture and the government. It is placed above the governor of the Bank of France who has to follow its directions. The Finance Minister and the Minister of National Economy must take its advice on all problems relating the reconstruction and modernization of the nation's economy. Finally the Council has to give directions to government commissars who henceforth will sit on the boards of all investment banks.

On April 8, 1946, the constituent assembly enacted a law nationalizing France's electrical and gas industries. This is the most detailed and complicated of the French Nationalization Acts. It nationalizes, with the exception of dwarf enterprises, all the enterprises producing, transferring, distributing, importing or exporting electrical power or fuel gas (except natural gas). To operate the nationalized industries, three National Offices and a number of subordinate agencies have been created. The National Offices are French Electricity (FE), French Gas (FG) and the National Office of Electrical and Gas Equipment. Under the first and the second, regional distribution boards, separate for electricity and gas, are created. Existing consumers cooperatives and local non-profit associations already busy in the field of the distribution of electricity and gas may be incorporated into the new system as boards of distribution.

FE and FG will be headed by councils consisting of 18 members each, out of whom 6 will represent the state, 6 the consumers and 6 the employees. Out of the 6 representatives of the consumers, 4 will be chosen by communities now producing or distributing electricity or gas, one the industries consuming electricity or gas and one either agricultural associations (in FE) or "familial associations" (in FG).<sup>23</sup> Out of the 6 representatives of the employees, 3 will be elected by the higher staff, one by the technicians (below the rank of engineer) and two by the manual workers. The National Office of Equipment will be headed by a council of 10 members, four representing the state, three FE, two FG and one the National Council of Credit. The local boards of distribution will be headed by councils, each consisting of four representatives of the FE or FG, six representatives of the employees (distributed as above) and 8 representatives of the consumers (among them 6 representatives of the communities). The councils of FE and FG and the local boards appoint the general managers and managers, out of persons with great experience in the respective fields. No parliamentarian can serve on the councils.

<sup>23</sup> A subsequent decree has to define the meaning of this term.

The tasks of FE and FG are self-evident. They are granted financial autonomy and directed to act according to the practices prevailing in industrial and commercial enterprises. The National Office of Equipment is created to help finance the FE and FG. It will direct and coordinate the emission of bonds by FE, FG and the local boards, and take care of the payments to the former owners who receive full compensation in the form of bonds bearing 3 per cent, eventually increased in dependency of the net profits of the system of the nationalized enterprises.

On April 25, 1946, the constituent assembly passed an act nationalizing 34 among France's most important insurance companies. To avoid international complications, the foreign interests of these companies were exempted and their transfer to private (non-nationalized) enterprises permitted. The shareholders of the nationalized companies are compensated by bonds entitling them to receive income depending on the profits of the enterprises; the bonds will be redeemed by the Treasury by annual portions, each representing not less than 2 per cent of the whole. In contradistinction to the nationalized public utilities, the nationalized insurance units preserve the status of commercial enterprises acting under commercial law; their merger or regrouping is not foreseen. It is explicitly stated that the Treasury does not grant its guarantee to the operations of the nationalized units. The difference from private enterprise will be this: instead of the general assembly of the shareholders, each nationalized unit will be headed by a president appointed by the Minister of Finance and by a council consisting of 3 members appointed by the National Insurance Council, 3 members elected by the employees and 3 representing the insured persons. The National Insurance Council just mentioned is created to coordinate the activity of the particular enterprises. It is headed by the Minister of Finance and consists of 7 members representing the government, 7 representing the employees and 7 representing the insured persons. The law contains a section promising the forthcoming enactment of a general statute of the nationalized enterprises.

According to recent reports from France, among the members of the MRP the enthusiasm in favor of nationalization has significantly cooled.<sup>24</sup> Very probably, the papal letter to Professor Flory (see below) has brought to their attention that the question was not so simple as they had thought. Moreover, the general political constellation has substantially deteriorated, as the consequence of the

<sup>24</sup> *New York Times*, November 18, 1946.

impossibility of forming a government sufficiently homogeneous to carry out a real "reform of structure."<sup>25</sup>

Summing up the French nationalization acts, one finds that, as it had been the case before the war, different patterns were used. In some cases (the collieries, air transportation, the public utilities) the nationalized enterprises have been merged into gigantic units; in other cases (the banks and the insurance companies), the individuality of the economic units has been preserved, but they have been placed under the orders of coordinating agencies (the National Council of Credit, the National Insurance Council). The Renault and the Rhone and Gnome plants have been placed under the direct orders of the ministry. In the majority of cases, tripartite councils representing the state, the employees and the consumers have been created to manage the nationalized units, in some cases on two levels — within the individual enterprise and on the level of the coordinating agency. But the majority of these agencies are only advisory boards, so that, in reality, the nationalized enterprises have been placed under the orders of ministers who, in France, represent "politics" or of the bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, whenever such boards have been created, this has been done in accordance with the program of the MRP; but the program demanded the use of further patterns, among them "workers' cooperatives." This has not been realized. In a few cases only, measures were taken to bring economic enterprises into the sector of planned economy; the most important instance is that of the non-nationalized banks. The scarce use of this pattern must be probably explained by the fact that, in postwar France, large parts of the economic system continue being under strict regimentation imposed on them in the course of the war.<sup>26</sup>

But, in addition to the acts already reported, one more must be mentioned as carrying out a substantial part of the program of the MRP. This is the ordinance of February 22, 1945, according to which in all economic units employing more than 100 persons, or even a smaller number, but recognized to be of economic importance

<sup>25</sup> The numerous elections and plebiscites held in 1945 and 1946 have manifested that France is hopelessly divided between Communists, Socialists, Catholics and Rightists, the trend being rather toward accentuating than mitigating the differences. On the political development of postwar France see the excellent article by M. Einaudi, "Political Change in France and Italy," *American Political Science Review*, October 1946, pp. 898 ff.

<sup>26</sup> In other words, the "directed sector" still covers a large portion of the economic system, including such portions which, according to plan, ought to belong to the "free sector."

by special decrees of the Minister of National Economy, "enterprise committees" must be created presided by the owner or his representative and consisting of members elected, for three years, by the employees. Separate representation is granted to intellectual and manual workers, and the representation of the latter is entrusted to the labor unions which have to nominate the candidates. All employees associated with the enterprise for more than one year are granted franchise, but only those with at least two years of service can be elected. The committees are granted full powers as to the administration of "social works" (a term designating, in France, schools, hospitals, libraries and the like attached to economic units). Relating other topics, the committees are merely consultative bodies. They are called to discuss suggestions as to the improvement of labor conditions, suggestions as to technical improvements, rewards to meritorious members of the personnel, etc. The owner is expected to periodically submit to them reports about the general state of the affairs of the enterprise. On the other hand, the settlement of labor disputes does not belong to their tasks.<sup>27</sup>

In the *Exposé des motifs* attached to the ordinance, it is called a step in the direction of "social liberation" and justified by the "obvious necessity" of associating the workers with the management of the enterprise. It is pointed to the fact that "enterprise committees" have been spontaneously formed in many branches of industry, so that the ordinance might be conceived as legalizing an already existing movement. Frequent contact between management and labor ensuing from the ordinance is extolled and great expectations are attached to it.

In combination with the structure given to the councils or boards of some of the nationalized enterprises, the ordinance may be conceived as showing the way for an eventual reconstruction of the economic system. Whereas the traditional structure (prevailing in liberal society) is based on the autocratic position of management, the new structure seems to limit this autocracy in favor of labor and the consumers. This is a development analogous to that from the autocratic monarchy of patrimonial, or pre-liberal society, to the "constitutional" or "dual" monarchy which, in many parts of Europe, preceded the further movement towards parliamentary

<sup>27</sup> The system is analogous to that of the *Betriebsräte* created in Germany under the Weimar Constitution, in the erroneous idea that this was an imitation of the "workers' control," a Soviet invention used in 1917-18. On it see Baykov, *op. cit. supra*, p. 40.

monarchy leaving to the monarch only nominal power.<sup>28</sup> It is obviously impossible to predict that a similar development will by necessity take place in the economic system.

## 4

It is worthwhile to compare the scope and nature of nationalization in France and in other countries. For the time being, this can be made relating Great Britain, Czechoslovakia and Austria.

In Great Britain the fulfillment of the Labor program concerning nationalization made less progress than in France. When, in October 1945, the Bank of England Bill was brought into parliament, the *London Economist*, usually representing the ideas of the City wrote: "The great advances in economic and administrative technique in the last few decades and the practical experience of two wars have shown that economic enterprise can be conducted by the state without disaster and that collective organization has many advantages, for particular purposes and in particular industries, in comparison with some of the latter-day developments of capitalism. It has long been apparent that a democratic 20th century economy, if it is to be fruitful and stable, must extract all the advantages that can be derived both from the principle of free private enterprise and from that of collective organization."<sup>29</sup>

From the very start, the bill was drafted with an eye to change as little as possible and, in the course of the parliamentary debates, rather conservative views prevailed. According to the Act of February 14, 1946, the stock of the Bank of England will be henceforth owned by the Treasury alone, but the former owners are compensated by "equivalent stock" bearing 3 per cent. The governor and his deputy will be appointed by the government for 5 years, and the 16 members of the court for 4 years. The Bank has been granted power to issue directions to the bankers and to request information from, or make recommendations to, them, for the purpose of securing that effect is given to any such request or recommendation. But an additional clause provides that no such request or recommendation shall be made with respect of the affairs of any particular customer of the banker. In the course of the debate, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that, after the enactment of the bill, the banks may be urged to devote their resources to one or other form of investment which, it was felt by the government and the Bank of

<sup>28</sup> See my *Three Worlds*, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Economist*, 1945, vol. II, p. 146.

England, was necessary to secure full employment and to build up export trade and other necessary elements of the national economy.

It is commonly assumed in Great Britain that the nationalization of the Bank of England will mean very little, but that the powers granted to the bank and, indirectly, to the treasury will be used by the government as the backbone of a system of planned economy to be gradually built up.<sup>30</sup>

Much more drastic is the change introduced into England's social system by the Coal Industry Nationalization Act of July 12, 1946. This act provides that all the shares of the coal mining companies will be owned by the state, and makes coal mining a state monopoly; as compensation, the former owners receive state bonds. The mines will be operated by a special board of nine members appointed by the minister of fuel. In the course of the parliamentary debates, the government promised to secure that men of highest ability would serve on the board and to pay them "commercial salaries;" no member of the parliament can be appointed. The board is imposed the obligation to supply coal in such quantity, of such quality, and of such price as required by public interest. On the other hand, the board must balance the books without aid of concealed subsidies; it is also placed under the general guidance of the minister of fuel, in matters of national interest. Two consumers' councils, one representing the industrial and another the domestic consumers, are created; finding defects, they can report to the minister who can, then, give appropriate directions to the board; regional councils can be created to help the national ones.

On November 6, 1946, all shares of Cables and Wireless, a monopolistic corporation, have been transferred to the treasury, naturally with compensation of the owners. But the mode of nationalization used on that occasion resembles the one used in France relating *Renault* or *Gnome et Rhone*. The King's speech of November 12, 1946, foresees the forthcoming nationalization of the inland transportation services and the electricity supply industry as well as the establishment of a permanent exchange control. Since then, bills on the nationalization of transportation, on exchange control, on control of farm land, and on town and county planning have been brought into Parliament.<sup>31</sup>

In Czechoslovakia, a decree of October 25, 1945, nationalized the

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 720, 761, 838, 914.

<sup>31</sup> *New York Times*, November 13, 14 and 28, December 18, 1946, and January 7, 1947.



banks, insurance companies, coal mining, the metallurgic industry, the famous Bata shoe plants, textile mills employing more than 400 workers and garment factories employing more than 500 workers, and all the economic units whose owners had collaborated with the Germans. In practice, many more units were nationalized than had been foreseen by the decree, so that about 75 per cent of the industrial production of the nation is now the business of the state. According to the basic decree, the nationalized industries must be organized on business principles, and the salaries of the employees must not be lower than before the nationalization. Independence from political pressure is granted to them, at least on paper, but no measure has been taken to guarantee this independency — such as placing the industries under the orders of mixed councils, as has been done in France.

In Austria, a divergence of views between the Catholic (People's) Party on the one hand and the socialists and the communists on the other hand has evolved with respect to the nationalization of industry. Whereas the latter have insisted on the transfer of privately owned industries to the state, the Catholic Party has sponsored a plan calling for the elimination of the proletariat by the gradual transfer of a large part of the ownership of the means of production to workers in any given enterprise.

A compromise was found in the form of two simultaneous laws which were enacted on July 26, 1946. One of these laws nationalizes a number of large enterprises according to a list attached to the law; another, on plant cooperatives, provides that cooperatives will be created in plants taken over by the state that are not natural monopolies. Part of the shares will remain with the state or be transferred to the "lands" of which Austria consists, or to the towns or townships, but the rest (no more than one half) will be distributed among the employees having at least one year of service, one to each. Their price will be gradually paid out of the cooperative's share in the profits of the enterprise. Employees leaving the enterprise must surrender their shares receiving reimbursement of their value.

An interesting campaign was conducted by the Catholic Party both before and after the enactment of the Plant Cooperatives Act. In June 1946, Peter Krauland, minister of economic planning, wrote in the *Presse*: The Austrian People's Party has tried to find a middle way between state and private economy. One leading idea is a co-operative based on the democratic principle of self-determination.



Such a type of organization is calculated to prevent the menace of bureaucratization and of the enslavement of the workers by the omnipotent state. The party is convinced that the mere transfer of ownership from individuals to the state is futile and even dangerous. A worker in any enterprise should feel himself part of it and should not become the slave of the state or of a party controlling the state.

Immediately after the enactment of the law, the Party published a manifesto in which it explained to its members that the factory cooperatives were not intended to create an optical illusion, but to restore the worker's rights and to raise him to the social status that is his due. However, as the first step, the nationalized enterprises must be put in order. Accountants will establish the real value of the enterprises as the basis of compensation due to the owners. Meanwhile, the workers must go into the councils created by the law on the nationalization and become fully acquainted with the program and the enterprise which they finally will operate.<sup>32</sup>

Almost simultaneously with the enactment of the Austrian laws, the Netherlands announced a program of economic reorganization. This was done in the Queen's speech of July 23, 1946 which expressed the views of a coalition ministry composed mainly of Catholics and socialists. The program comprises the creation of a Social and Economic Council as a governing body of a system of industrial organizations; the nationalization of the Bank of the Netherlands; and the eventual nationalization of public utilities and of enterprises of a monopolistic character insofar as planning through industrial organizations will not offer sufficient guarantee of healthy social and economic conditions. Up to the end of 1946, however, no concrete measure to realize the program was taken.

It should be finally mentioned that the new constitution ratified by the people of Bavaria on December 1, 1946, comprises these clauses: mineral resources, important sources of electrical power, railways and other transportation facilities, water, gas, and electrical works are to belong to public law corporations (i.e., the provinces, the cities or townships) or to cooperatives. If the public interests requires, any unit of production, banking, or insurance can be nationalized with appropriate compensation.<sup>32a</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *New York Times*, June 9, July 22, August 9, 1946.

<sup>32a</sup> *New York Times*, December 2, 1946.

Our comparative study may be summarized as follows: regarding the scope of nationalization, France is mid-way between Great Britain where less has been achieved, and Czechoslovakia or Austria where the nationalizations have been sweeping. Regarding the form of nationalization, France has used either the model of placing the nationalized enterprises under bureaucratic management, or the model of placing them under the direction of mixed agencies representing the state, the consumers and the employees, whereas Great Britain has continued using her plan of public corporations, Czechoslovakia has adhered to the bureaucratic pattern prevailing in Soviet Russia, and Austria is starting an interesting experiment by organizing worker's cooperatives to help manage the nationalized plants.

It is necessary to be fully aware of this situation to grasp the meaning of the letter addressed by Pope Pius XII to Professor Flory, head of *Semaine Sociale*, a Catholic organization especially espousing the program of "reform of structure." In this letter the Pope recalled that he and his predecessors repeatedly had dealt with the moral aspects of nationalization. It is evident, he added, that nationalization, even when it is lawful, "far from attenuating the mechanical character of life and work in common tends to accentuate it." Therefore he believed that the institution of corporative associations or units in every branch of the national economy was more advantageous from the social point of view and also more conducive to efficiency. This is certainly true, continued the Pope, whenever, as has been the case hitherto, the merging of companies into large units and the disappearance of small independent producers has benefited capital more than social economy as a whole. He ended saying that there is no doubt that under the present circumstances a corporative form of social life and especially of economic life in practice favors Christian doctrine concerning the individual, community, labor and private property.<sup>33</sup>

As has been already mentioned, this letter has substantially toned down the enthusiasm of the French Catholics relating the program of nationalization. Prior to this letter, the leaders of the MRP seemed to have forgotten an important principle of the Catholic social doctrine, namely that of subsidiarity. According to this principle, the state should take over activities required by the common good only if it is proven that individuals or subordinate groups cannot by themselves fulfill the corresponding tasks. Now, the

<sup>33</sup> *New York Times*, July 21 and 22, 1946.

assertions contained in the *exposés* cited above and ascribing the state the exclusive ability to manage quite a few branches of economic activity were unsupported by evidence. Some of the authors contributing to the *Semaine Sociale* seem also to have ignored the principle.

The Pope's directions may be understood as blaming exaggerations, but not interdicting nationalization, independently of the scope, conditions and the form granted to the nationalized enterprises.<sup>34</sup> This is probably the interpretation given to the papal directions outside of France, especially in Austria and Bavaria.

What is however the relevant difference between France and Austria? In both cases, economic units are nationalized, in other words, become the property of the state, and this independently of the will of the owners. In France, this is only partly mitigated by the organization of tripartite councils, but the real increase of the power of the state is beyond doubt. This is done without any attempt of dealing with the situation by creating "intermediary groups," as required by the principle of subsidiarity. In Austria, the state retrocedes a substantial part of its newly acquired property to workers cooperatives; then, the workers are no longer proletarians, but coowners of the enterprise. Thus, intermediary groups are created, in which the state will be influential, without however playing the decisive role. This is in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity.

It is obvious that, in addition to questions of principle, questions of technical and economic efficiency are involved. How will the new French bodies work? Especially, what will be the real influence of the tripartite councils? Will they really contribute to the standardization and modernization of French industry? On the other hand, how will the Austrian cooperatives work? Will the workers-coowners display additional efforts to lift up production, or will they demand conditions corresponding to the formula "more pay for less work"? A few years must pass before the new structure of industrial relations emerging in Europe with the participation of the Catholic parties can be judged from the standpoint of efficiency.

For the present day, only this conclusion is possible: Following the directions of the Holy See, the Catholics will probably exert a moderating influence on the far reaching plans of nationalization supported by the socialists and communists. They will check whether, in the particular case, private management is no longer

<sup>34</sup> On the Catholic point of view see Husslein, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 82-83.

able, or can no longer be assumed to be willing, to carry out its obligations to the community, and vote in favor of nationalization only if this inability or unwillingness is proven beyond reasonable doubt. When voting in favor of nationalization, they will keep in mind the danger of the enslavement of the workers by the state by means of a new economic bureaucracy and emphasize the idea of the deproletarianization of the labor class, as has been done in Austria. It will naturally depend on circumstances whether they will favor the plan of factory cooperatives, or some other model. In any case, they will help the disorganized world of our day find a new equilibrium on the basis of a reasonable blending of their ideas with those of their liberal and socialist partners, insofar as the latter will agree to compromise on terms safeguarding the dignity and inalienable liberty of man.

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NOTES OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

**The Teaching of Sociology in General and Specialized Courses\***

JAMES EDWARD MCKEOWN

I ADDRESS you not so much as a sociologist but as a college teacher of sociology and social science. I shall talk of practical problems in teaching rather than of sociological studies and theories.

I am on the staff of a small college. It is St. Francis Xavier College for Women in Chicago. Its enrollment is between seven and eight hundred. I have two distinct duties there.

My first duty is the teaching of sociology courses in the senior college for students who are majoring in sociology or one of the other social sciences.

My second duty is the teaching of the general course in the social sciences in the junior college for students who have not yet chosen a major and the bulk of whom probably will not chose sociology when they do.

While performing my first duty I take both my students and myself seriously in the roles of sociologists. I regard the students in my senior college classes as prospective specialists in the field of sociology, future analyzers of

society. My task is to supply them with the terminology, concepts, theory, and methods that are the tools for social analysis.

While performing my second duty I try to forget myself as a sociologist and regard both my students and myself as citizens in the American democratic-capitalistic society. It is not my intention at this level to make the students proficient in using the specialized implements in the sociological tool chest. It is my intention to give them practice in doing critical thinking and making relevant judgments on a few highly current practical problems that they must face as citizens.

In short, my first duty is a task of vocational or special education, educating future specialists. My second duty is a task of general education, educating future citizens.

Introductory sociology and all subsequent sociology courses should be regarded as specialized courses, courses oriented toward producing efficient sociologists. The problem of how and what to teach in these courses has been well covered by the speakers in yesterday morning's sessions. I shall merely say in passing that the principal task of the instructor in these specialized courses is to keep current on the terminology, concepts, theory, and methods of sociology and to pass them on to the students.

Specialized courses are unsuited

\*An address delivered April 27, 1947 at the Midwest Sociological Society Convention held at the Hotel Kirkwood in Des Moines, Iowa.

to the task of general education because they are designed for the prospective sociologist and not for the prospective non-sociologist citizen. The system of distribution requirements, nevertheless, represents an attempt to use them for this task. It is an attempt to fulfill the task of general education without instituting courses in general education apart from the specialized courses. This system forces the future chemist into the course that is designed for the future sociologist.

The future chemist is all too likely to regard time spent in an introductory sociology course as a waste of time. To a certain extent it is. The chemist will have no vocational use for the terminology, concepts, theory, and methods presented in the course. Then too, the practical problems of citizenship usually receive incidental rather than central consideration in the introductory course.

It is fortunate that many colleges have realized that distribution requirements cannot adequately fulfill the task of general education. Many regular general education courses of the survey and great books varieties have appeared. Though these are definite improvements over the distribution requirements they are not without noticeable shortcomings.

Where survey courses are mere condensations of materials taught in the various introductory courses, they still fail to make the practical problems of citizenship central. They do, however, conserve the students' time, for the students can elect the survey course in the social sciences rather

than a host of introductory courses.

Survey courses that consist of condensations usually also fail to show the interrelationships among the various social sciences, for in them the departmental lines are often too well respected although these lines serve no important function at the general level.

Great books courses of the University of Chicago variety are definite improvements over the condensation types of survey courses. The great books demand that the social scientists forget their departmental lines, for the same great book is often equally great as economics, sociology, history, and political science and must be recognized as such. The works can be selected so that they center around certain ageless practical problems of citizenship, such as, the problem of freedom and control and the conflict of social values. Perhaps the chief limitation of the great books program is that it emphasizes the historical aspect of these problems at the expense of the highly current aspects.

The great books are great because they have stood the test of time. Current books, in view of this, cannot be great because they are not old enough. By the time they are old enough to be great they will be of historical rather than current importance.

It must be remembered, nevertheless, that it is the highly current aspects of these ageless problems that confront our students as citizens in our society. What Adam Smith had to say about the society of his day may still have much relevance for the society of today. That relevance,

however, must be partial rather than complete, for Smith was writing not of our society but of his own. The writings of such popularizers as Thurman Arnold and Stuart Chase are, on the other hand, complete in their relevance, for they write of the same world that the students are experiencing in their daily lives. It is quite evident that the great books approach to the practical problems of citizenship often forces considerable strain for relevance upon both students and instructors. This strain is considerably lessened when current works are used, for these are usually designed to fit the highly current variations of the ageless problems of citizenship.

This year we have been experimenting with a general course in the social sciences, built not around the historical aspects of such problems as freedom and control and the conflict of social values but around a few highly current aspects of these problems. Six sets of such problems are considered, namely:

1. Problems of altering the democratic-capitalistic system to better enable it to fulfill human wants while at the same time preserving civil rights.
2. Problems of achieving economic and psychological security in democratic-capitalistic society.
3. Problems of family adjustment in urban industrial society.
4. Problems of the practicability of a world commonwealth.

5. Problems occasioned by the passing of various traditional functions from the family.

6. Problems occasioned by racial and cultural differences.

We began our attack upon these problems not by going back to see what Adam Smith might have had to say about some vaguely similar problems in his own time but by starting with the students' own common sense notions about these problems and subjecting these notions to a rigorous process of refinement. We were not surprised in the early stages of our course to find the students thinking in terms of myths and catch-phrases, such as:

Unions are going too far.

Negroes are all right in their place.

We should not play Santa Claus to the rest of the world.

Washington told us to stay out of foreign affairs.

We regarded it as our task to demonstrate that these myths and catch phrases are not adequate answers to the problems. It was also our task to make the students aware that these notions do not represent either critical thinking or relevant judgments and that as substitutes for these they are most unsatisfactory. It was toward these ends that we directed our assignments.

One of our assignments required the students to draw up a list of proverbs and catch phrases and then to match each one of these with other proverbs and catch phrases that either contradict or sharply contrast to the first, as:



A new broom sweeps clean.  
Haste makes waste.  
Birds of a feather flock together.

Matched respectively by  
Don't change horses in the  
middle of a stream.  
He who hesitates is lost.  
Opposites attract.

We have evidence that this assignment has done much to diminish the trust the students were first inclined to place in such catch phrases.

Another assignment required the students to write statements of their attitudes on labor and then to account for their attitudes in terms of their own social backgrounds. This assignment yielded encouraging results, indicating that the students were becoming aware of the manner in which attitudes are conditioned.

An exercise in exploding stereotypes required the students to describe the "typical Jew" and the "typical Negro" and then to describe real Jews and Negroes whom they knew personally, pointing out the ways in which the real living Jews and Negroes contrasted to rather than conformed to the stereotypes. We have indications that this has done much to free the students from thinking in terms of "all Jews" and "all Negroes."

From the standpoint of the readings we assign we can not call our course a great books course, but we might call it a relevant books course. The readings, for the most part, bear upon the highly current practical problems with which we are concerned. Perhaps the oldest and greatest book we use is Sumner's

*Folkways*. Others are more recent: *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition* by the Lynds, *Patterns of Culture and Race, Science, and Politics* by Ruth Benedict, and various *Public Affairs Pamphlets*, *Headline Books*, and Catholic pamphlets.

Thus we proceed to subject the students' own common sense notions to a process of refinement in the hope that they will be transformed into critical thoughts, insights, and relevant judgments tempered to such a degree by social scientific knowledge that they can serve the students as effective tools of citizenship.

We do not claim that our program is anything more than an experiment. We expect to alter it as the need becomes apparent. We also do not claim that ours is the only or the best way of fulfilling the task of general education, nor do we claim that our program is suited to all colleges. As things stand now, though, we feel we are on the right track, and the results seem encouraging.

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### **Sociology in the Living Instance**

F. W. GROSE

The title of this article is taken from a recent book by Elton Mayo, professor of industrial research at Harvard University. Professor Mayo most scathingly criticizes college sociology, saying, among other things:

"Sociology is highly developed, but mainly as an exercise in the acquisition of scholarship. Students are taught to

write books about each other's books. Of the psychology of normal adaptation, little is said, and of sociology in the living instance, sociology of the intimate, nothing at all."<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere, Professor Mayo speaks of sociology, along with psychology and political science, as "the unsuccessful sciences," contrasting them with the "successful sciences," chemistry, physics, and physiology. He says sociology is a failure because it does not "communicate to students a skill that is directly useful in human situations."<sup>2</sup>

Certainly here is a challenge to college faculties of sociology. If the criticism is not well founded, we ought to refute it fully and adequately. If it is supported by adequate evidence, we ought to take immediate and sufficient action to insure that it ceases to be valid. If it is in part warranted and in part not justified, we need to discover the exact nature and degree of our failure; and to pioneer academic activities within the discipline of sociology, calculated to produce better results than those achieved in the past.

When we recall the many discussions within the American Catholic Sociological Society of the content of the courses offered and that there has been a complete disagreement on either content or sequence of courses, when we recall that we have not been able to reach an agreement on the

content of the introductory course, then it is easy to understand that no common or uniform results have been produced in those courses. And from this understanding, it is quite proper to conclude that all too often, perhaps always, we have not been successful teachers of social skills.

If it is true, as often said, that the essential difference between education and training is that in education we seek mastery over symbols and in training we seek mastery over objects and over skills and processes, then it may also be true that in our "educational institutions," colleges and universities, we have not even attempted to teach a social skill. In the professional schools, of course, we have made this attempt, successfully. A social skill is certainly one of the things taught in a school of social work; it is also taught in the medical schools, nursing schools, and teachers colleges; probably every professional school teaches social skills to some degree. But that the undergraduate colleges, especially those devoted to the liberal arts, do teach, or even ought to attempt to teach, skills, social or other than social, is the question under consideration.

From the foregoing, three essential questions proceed: first, ought sociologists teach a social skill; second, if they should, what social skill should they teach; and third, if the answers to the first two questions lead to this one, is this social skill taught? Perhaps a fourth question should be added: How may this teaching of a social skill be made more generally successful than it has been?

This brief paper is written in

<sup>1</sup> Elton Mayo: *The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, p. 20. (Andover, Mass., The Andover Press, 1945). Reviewed in June 1947 issue of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

the hope that members of the American Catholic Sociological Society will rise to the challenge enunciated by Professor Mayo, in the hope that they will either prove his criticism to be unwarranted or correct the delinquency he points out. This writer acknowledges his incompetence to respond adequately to the criticism. But he is willing to offer tentative answers to these questions.

To the first question, he hesitatingly answers that a social skill, or perhaps several social skills, should be taught. For even though the distinction made above between education and training is acceptable, yet life, in school or out of it, can not be so completely departmentalized as to divorce science from art, symbols from the practice of the behavior to which they point.

The answer to the second question comes more slowly and less adequately. Probably Professor Mayo is correct in saying that "social skill begins in the art of provoking, and receiving, communications from others."<sup>3</sup> The art of observation of human conduct and the art of logically reducing these observations to valid theses are the fruits of skills that can and should be taught. The acceptance of responsibility really is a social skill: it can be taught, and it should be taught. Long ago, Heraclitus asserted that one cannot step in the same river twice. Skill in recognizing the essential truth of this ancient wisdom and skill in assuming the risks involved in living in a changing world are skills that can be and ought to be taught; and what is more, as related to

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

social matters, these are social skills. Professor Mayo emphasizes through out his entire book that we fail because, in large part, we look upon society as static whereas it is, in truth, adaptive or changing. I assume that he and Heraclitus might agree that a dynamic, purposeful, efficient skill in facing the risks of an ever-changing social order is vital to good living; and that an educational institution that really is educational ought to see to it that its students acquire that skill.

To the third question, this seems the proper answer, that sometimes we do teach these and other social skills and sometimes we do not. It would seem that more often than otherwise the teaching of skills is incidental, subconscious, even inadvertent; and that we teach better than we realize. Certainly not all our students leave college wholly lacking in this respect. Nonetheless, it is true that wherever the lecture method is employed, the chance to teach these skills is negligible. The question and answer method seems but little better. Discussion is surely more fruitful than either of the foregoing, in this respect. The writing of papers from books read cannot be very fruitful. Inquiry requiring interviews and actual observation of social processes at work ought to be more fruitful. "Field work," whatever that means, ought to be more productive than anything else mentioned herein. When properly planned and supervised it should be very fruitful, indeed, in teaching social skills to students of sociology. When properly planned and adequately supervised, it should be

the sociologists' equivalent of laboratory and clinic. However, the expression "field work" ought not to be interpreted to exclude investigations made on the campus or even in the class room. All society really is or can become our laboratory; the class room can, if properly utilized, become a clinic. No one argues that books belong to the teaching of sociology; let no one doubt that persons and societies, like books, belong; and they, too, can be studied.

As to the added fourth question, let the answer be: Let us hope so. Let us try to accomplish more than the mere acquiring of scholarship.

This paper closes with the frank recognition that the challenge with which it began has not been adequately met. More study, more inquiry, careful observation and investigation must be forthcoming before the patient, the unsuccessful science of sociology, can be cured; yes, even before it can be prescribed for. The diagnosis needs to be checked, and checked again. The teaching aim may require adjustment. Certainly teaching methods and devices need enrichment and redirection. We should give our thanks to Professor Mayo for setting us so important a task.

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## NEWS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

The American Sociological Society announces that "tentative arrangements" are being made for the 1947 annual meeting to be held in New York City, December 28-30.

★ ★

The decision concerning the time and place of the American Catholic Sociological Society's annual meeting will be made at a meeting of the executive-council scheduled for this summer.

Members of the ACSS who are interested in presenting a research paper at the convention are asked to communicate with the executive-secretary immediately.

★ ★

Contributors to the *Review* are once again notified that reprints of articles can be had at cost if the request is made in advance of publication.

★ ★

*College of St. Thomas* (St. Paul, Minn.): Franz Mueller is the author of a recently published brochure (Central Bureau, St. Louis 8, Mo.), entitled "Economic Liberalism, Socialism, or Solidarism? Presentation of a Catholic Solution." Dr. Mueller is also writing a bi-weekly column for the Catholic paper, *The Wanderer* on "Social Principles and Problems."

★ ★

*College of St. Mary of the Springs* (Columbus 3, Ohio): Louis A. Ryan, O.P., chairman of the department of sociology has prepared "a select bibliography for teachers and students majoring in social science, social workers, and family study group directors" on *Marriage and the Fam-*

*ily*. The eighteen (mimeographed) page bibliography is annotated and is sub-divided as follows: Basic References, Population Studies, General Marriage and Family Legislation, Family Security, Role of Woman, Preparation for Marriage, Birth Promotion and Prevention, Child Development, Sex Education, Divorce, Magazines and Periodicals.

★ ★

*LeMoyné College* (Syracuse, N. Y.): Richard McKeon, S.J., director of the school of industrial relations, is the compiler of a sixteen page mimeographed bibliography on *Industrial Relations*. It is divided into nine sections: Christian Social Principles, Ethics, Sociology, The Labor Movement, Government and Labor, Management, Economics, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Law, and Supplementary References (pamphlets, periodicals, and special services). A list of publishers and "Recommendations for a Small Industrial Relations Library" round out the bibliography.

★ ★

*Loyola University* (Chicago, Ill.): An Institute on Counseling under the direction of Rev. Charles Curran, Ph.D., Columbus, Ohio, will be offered from June 30 to July 18. Graduate credit will be given for the course. Sociological and Industrial Counseling will be included. Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., is chairman of the Institute.

★ ★

*Opportunity*, publication of the National Urban League (1133

Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.), will have a round-table feature in its summer issue on Catholic-Negro relations in Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh.

★ ★

*Marquette University.* (Milwaukee, Wis.): Father Claude Heithaus, S.J., will give a special series of lectures for students in the summer school on "Race Relations and the Catholic Church."

★ ★

A sixth international Catholic conference of social work is to be held in Lucerne, Switzerland from September 4-10, 1947. The main topic will be: "A code of professional morality for social workers. All information may be had from the Central Office of the Conference, 111 rue de la Poste, Brussels, Belgium, or Miss Keller, Soziale Frauenschule, Hiltisbergerstrasse 5, Lucerne, Switzerland.

★ ★

*University of Notre Dame* (Indiana): Effective in September 1947, the University will offer a program leading to doctor's degree in sociology.

★ ★

*St. Louis University* (Missouri): The department of sociology in cooperation with other departments in the social sciences is offering graduate students in sociology the following fields of concentration: sociological theories, population and race, social ecology, personnel, fam-

ily, educational sociology, industrial sociology, crime and delinquency.

Marcus Collins of the Pennsylvania College for Women will teach courses in rural sociology and regionalism in the 1947 summer session. Father Laurence McHattie, S.J., was appointed assistant professor of sociology. Clement S. Mihanovich, director of the department, was appointed professor of sociology.

★ ★

*College of St. Catherine* (St. Paul, Minn.): John F. Cronin, S.S., and Elizabeth Morrissey will be the faculty members for the "Institute on Catholic Social Teaching and the Problems of Today" scheduled for June 16-28 at the College. The Institute is for Sisters and laywomen who are faculty members in social science departments in Catholic women's colleges. Applications for admission to the Institute and for further information should be addressed to Sister Mary Edward, head of the department of sociology.

★ ★

Active chapters of the American Catholic Sociological Society are now functioning in Cleveland, Ohio, and St. Louis, Missouri. Members of the Society who are located in these areas and are interested in taking part in the activities of the St. Louis and Cleveland chapters should contact either Brother Eugene Janson, S.M., secretary, William Cullen McBride High School, St. Louis 13, Missouri, or Sister M. Gemma, H.H.M., secretary, 4105 Bridge Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio.

## BOOK REVIEWS\*

Editor:

EVA J. ROSS, *Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.*

*Can Science Save Us?* By G. A. Lundberg. New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1947. Pp. 122. Cloth, \$1.75; Paper, \$1.00.

Somewhat like Herbert Spencer of the last century who believed that the study of science was the best preparation for life, so Lundberg has the conviction that science can bring about a solution of all the problems that beset the modern world. To calm the misgivings of those who consider the solving of the world's maladies which are primarily spiritual in nature by a remedy that resides in a different category of being, the author states that, "Science is not a substitute for ideals. It is the most effective instrument of their attainment." Practically all agree that honesty, the Ten Commandments, democracy, the Golden Rule, free enterprise and cooperation are potent remedies but few realize that an ideal stated is not necessarily an ideal fulfilled.

The question that is really being asked in this book is not, "Can Science Save Us" but can social science of a truly objective variety save the world from such maladjustments as labor unrest, insufficient rations, rumors of war, and distrust between nations? The proposition that a well developed social science can save us is presented in the early part of the book in a rather convincing manner. By citing status studies and indicating the almost infinite use that could be made of census figures, public opinion polls and social surveys, the author develops confidence in the idea. Pioneering in the construction of actuarial tables from which predictions about the prevalence of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces has been done, and studies of the probable degrees of happiness in marriage under varying conditions, the probable success or failure of probation and parole, and other human eventualities are in progress. Much is already known about the social characteristics and behavior of populations such as the distribution of wealth, mobility, occupational turnover and degrees of intelligence. In order to strengthen the dawning conviction that a new social science can save us, other sociological approaches and methods of a non-demographic character are needed. The author failed to mention the researches conducted by economists wherein

\* Miss Ross asks that no correspondence be sent to her during the summer months. She is now out of the country, but expects to return late in September.



the co-called law of personal self-interest operates, other things being equal, almost as uniformly as the law of gravity. If the basic craving for physical and social security and the census figures showing a declining birth rate could be presented together showing how the latter militates against the former, how great would be the motivation thereby produced? Wouldn't an understanding, even if only by world leaders, of the new economy of plenty decrease the suspicion existing between peoples? The author does realize that this new social science which he has rather inadequately outlined must be developed to a degree wherein it could reliably specify the requirements of an enduring peace and that it must have attained such public respect that its voice would be influential even at a peace conference.

Professor Lundberg hopes that ultimately the new social science will rank with the physical sciences in reliability and service to mankind. Such an achievement is extremely remote because in the case of the physical sciences there is no dualism such as that found in the social sciences. There is not only the dualism of matter and spirit or body and soul but there is also the ever present dualistic aspect of social living whether considered as the individual versus the common good, or in the form of the labor-management struggle or in the more complex minorities question confronting the western democracies.

As "Social sciences do not compete with physical sciences but complement them," why didn't the author go a step farther and allow that science need not compete with but complement any branch of knowledge? This suggested broader viewpoint would necessitate the elimination of the attacks on "the classics," like his earlier onslaught on "the humanities," as well as his thrusts at religions, classified with astrology, and his castigation of pedagogy, art forms, internationalism and the United Nations. These ventures into other fields of knowledge by one not thoroughly versed in their lores, constitute a denial of that scientific spirit so necessary for the success of the new social science which will make a contribution to our national life to the extent that it becomes really unbiased, professional and objective, seeking truth in order to apply its findings to a troubled world.

DOROTHY M. PARTON, R.S.C.J.

*Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, New York 27, N. Y.*

*The Theory of Human Culture.* By James Feibleman. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946. Pp. xiv+361. \$5.

Every culture, Feibleman insists, has its own "implicit dominant ontology," which consists of the subconsciously accepted beliefs of a social group "about the nature of things." When an "implicit dominant ontology" is put into practice by a social group within a given environment, "the resultant beliefs, tools, and practices constitute what is known as a culture." This culture the empirical scientist can examine on various levels — from the physical, chemical, and biological through the psychological and social.

With this concept of culture and by the use of the "scientific" method, Feibleman separates culture into seven different types. There are four early types: the *infra-primitive* in which the "leading ontological" question (the leading question sets the tone for a culture) asked of its members is "How necessary are you to our survival?"; the *primitive* where the leading question is "How communal are you?"; the *martial* which asks its individual members "How well do you obey?" and the *religious* where the all important question is "How devout are you?" In the three advanced types of culture the leading questions are: "How personal [unique] are your feelings?" (*civilized*); "How inquisitive are you?" (*scientific*); and "How complete [a man] are you?" (*ultra-scientific*).

It is no secret that the *ultra-scientific* is the culture to which Feibleman is looking forward and which he hopes his science of culture will help to bring into existence. "The ultra-scientific culture will constitute a close approach to the perfect society . . . its goal is heaven on earth . . . [it] will have found means of applying the scientific method to psychological and social problems . . . everything is assigned to its proper place, there will be no clash between theory and practice. . . . The pure sciences will search out the truth about the nature of things, the applied sciences will apply such knowledge as the pure sciences are able to uncover. . . ."

I have quoted liberally from Feibleman's own description of the *ultra-scientific* culture to indicate how consistent is his attachment to scientism and how unaware he is of the basic problems he has sidestepped. For example, he walks around the all-important problem of the relation of the individual to the origin of the culture. As a result we find circuitous statements like the following: "Culture is the social expression of the implicit dominant ontology; the individual is the expression of the culture, as well as the bearer, in little, of the ontology (p. 128). . . . Cultures are the same as environments, whirls in the environment (p. 94) . . . a people does not make a culture so much as a culture makes a people (p. 95)."

Past investigations of culture, he goes on to say, have been characterized by the philosopher's disdain of "fact-digging" and the social scientist's scorn of "pure reason" and theorizing. Why not, Feibleman suggests, combine what is good in the philosopher's method (to be understood in the Cartesian sense) with what is good in the investigative technique of the ethnologist and anthropologist into a super-science of culture along the lines of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. This Feibleman tries to do. The social science of culture thus becomes, like Comte's sociology, the queen of the sciences, philosophy its handmaid, and theology an interesting social phenomenon deserving of some scrutiny. The recognition of the "implicit dominant ontology's" role in culture is meant to satisfy the philosopher while strict adherence to the Cartesian canons of knowledge is meant to placate the positivist. I do not think, however, that *The Theory of Human Culture* will satisfy either of them.

Feibleman takes for granted that science (to be understood in the modern rather than the traditional Aristotelian meaning) alone is

empirical, inductive, and objective, and is therefore the only worthy method of inquiry and the only worthwhile "knowledge." He has only a hazy notion of the independent role to be played by the philosopher. The method of science is investigative and based on special experience. The method of philosophy, like mathematics, is non-investigative and based on common experience. Both philosophy and science are inductive and deductive; both rest on reflection and observation; both acknowledge that what is true in either discipline must correspond with experience. Feibleman's root difficulties are: (1) his acceptance of the untenable position that the difference between man and "nature" is one of degree and not of kind; (2) his lack of appreciation of abstraction's role in distinguishing "science" from mathematics and both of these from philosophy.

*The Theory of Human Culture* is valuable as an intelligent but not too successful attempt to give the data of social science some life, organization, and meaning. It should indicate to Catholic sociologists that there are many unanswered questions about the epistemological foundations of social science. EDWARD A. MARCINIAK  
*Loyola University, Chicago 11, Illinois*

*The Social Effects of Aviation.* By William Fielding Ogburn.  
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946. Pp. vi+755. \$5.00.

Here is one of the first attempts to predict the social changes brought about as the result of technological invention. Studies have been made showing the changes which actually did occur after certain inventions, but this is one of the first to anticipate the possible changes. The project was made possible through the financial cooperation of United Air Lines with the University of Chicago. While not an important book for sociologists, it is nevertheless useful.

Professor Ogburn's thesis is, rightly, that since mechanical invention and scientific discovery have been the basis for revolutionary social changes in the past, the new transportation based on aircraft is changing, and will further change our present civilization. If his method of prediction is reliable and his conclusions correct society could begin the process of adjustment, that social process which usually lags so far behind the changes brought about by scientific progress.

The first 313 pages of this book are devoted to a discussion of the necessity of prediction, the possibility of prediction, the methods of prediction, and the problems of predicting in the field of technology. The third and most important part of the book for sociologists treats of the effects of aviation on social institutions beginning with population and ending with international policies.

According to Professor Ogburn death rates will increase by several thousands a year. Quick transportation may build up the population in sparsely inhabited localities rich in natural resources. There will be no mass migration, however. The effect of aviation on the family will be to intensify the trend toward family separation and favor the trend toward smaller families.

The configuration of cities may be altered but his change will be slow. The first postwar changes will be brought about by the need of airports. Metropolitan and trading areas may be enlarged. Inland cities will become more important if they become terminal points for international airlines.

Both institutional and personal aspects of religion will change. Church attendance will decrease as a result of the scattering of populations. Since aviation promotes materialism it will tend to make material things more important than the spiritual for the individual.

Health will be affected in several ways. Aviation medicine will continue to be developed. Because germs can be carried from infected areas before the completion of the incubation period and are therefore not easily detected, the more extended use of the airplane will lead to the control of disease everywhere.

In the field of recreation, there will be an increase of travel for pleasure; and there may also be more importance placed on international sports.

Crime during the first two postwar decades will not be much different from that of the automobile era. The effect will be mainly on large-scale operations of professional criminals — smuggling, disposal of stolen goods, etc. Gambling centers may also receive fresh impetus. The airplane may aid the capture of criminals by law enforcement officers. There will be more cooperation between law enforcement agencies: — local, state, federal and international.

In education changes will occur in the curricula, particularly in geography, physics and engineering, in mathematics, biology and the social sciences.

The railroads and steamship lines will be greatly effected by the loss of passenger travel, but there will be little change in the carrying of freight. Planes may eventually carry all first class mail and some parcel post.

Aviation may contribute to the further mechanization of agriculture and therefore to an increase in large-scale farming. Spraying and dusting of crops will become more and more widespread. This will lead to more technological unemployment.

In government, aviation will tend to shift still more the existing trend of emphasis on the national government, thus tending to a still more centralized government. It will decrease geographical representation in Congress; it may strengthen lobbying. It will increase the power of the national organization of political parties at the expense of the local unit. State and local loyalties will decrease; national issues and national figures will be more important.

Aviation will speed the evolution of states into larger states; it will even facilitate a single political organization of the peoples of the world. This will be brought about by an increase in social coherence or solidarity based on greater knowledge and understanding of the peoples of various countries. In some countries, however, the trend will be toward nationalism rather than internationalism and may therefore lead to militarism.

Many of the effects predicted will depend upon the cost involved: cost of manufacturing planes, cost of passenger travel, cost of freight traffic, the cost of private planes, etc. Other effects will depend upon the perfection of the helicopter. Most of the effects predicted will not be felt until the end of the first postwar decade, and during the second postwar decade.

SISTER LEO MARIE, O.P.

*Siena College, Memphis 5, Tenn.*

*Penal Reform in England*, 2nd. ed. revised and enlarged. Ed. by L. Radzinowicz and J. W. C. Turner. New York: Macmillan & Co., distributors, 1947. Pp. x+192. \$2.75.

The contributors to this symposium understand by the term "penal reform" a long and complex social process which transformed the cruel and almost aimless penal system of the 18th century into the humane system of our day aiming at the social rehabilitation of the offenders. Their interest is however centered neither on history nor on desirable developments to be achieved by coming generations, but rather on the system as it is being operated, now, in Great Britain.

It is really worth while to study this system carefully. First, since complete, reliable and comparable criminal statistics have existed in England since 1857, the criminologist is able to make well founded statements as to the development of criminality. Second, the system is one of the few which have worked according to expectation: if one disregards traffic offenses, today the relative number of offenses is smaller than it was 75 years ago; assault has declined 10 times, drunkenness 5 times, murder 2 times, robbery 10 times.

How can the success of the British system be explained? One of the factors is the excellence of the British court and police systems — both receive an illuminating treatment in the corresponding chapters of the symposium. Another is the consistent application of the principle of the separation of the various classes of offenders not in each prison, but in special prisons reserved for each class; in this way, the prison personnel specializes on limited tasks and achieves much more than they could when dealing with offenders of various types. The chapter on Borstal institutions, that glory of the English penal system, shows that each treats one group of young offenders only (male — female, younger — older, with good or with bad records, normal or mentally or bodily deficient). The chapter on the prison system shows that out of the 31 prisons in commission in England and Wales (there are just that many, with nothing corresponding to the county jails in the United States) quite a few are highly specialized institutions, the remainder serving to treat the normal adult male prison population.

The book contains information about the Criminal Justice Bill of 1938 which aimed at numerous improvements recommended on the basis of the experience of the past 30 years. It is unfortunate that first the war and now the great problem of social reconstruction have

diverted attention from the great task of still improving the treatment of offenders. For crime could have been well added as a sixth to the "five giant evils" mentioned by Sir W. Beveridge as suitable targets of planned social action in our day.

About the topics mentioned above, and many others, the book gives clear and concise information. Contrary to what one might expect of symposia, it is well organized and is almost free of repetitiousness. For one who would like to know what can really be done to combat crime in a democracy the book is indispensable reading.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

*Fordham University, New York 57, N. Y.*

*Latin Americans in Texas.* By Pauline R. Kibbe. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946. Pp. xxi+303. \$3.50.

Those who have followed the struggle between liberals and reactionaries in Texas in recent years will recognize in Mrs. Kibbe's courageous book an excellent presentation of a segment of the liberal viewpoint. Here you have the school of thought which feels that "acknowledgment of error is essential to correction," that facing the facts is as good mental hygiene for a state as for the individual.

Speaking unofficially, even though she is Executive Secretary of the Texas Good Neighbor Commission, Mrs. Kibbe has the advantage of practically life-long residence in the Lone Star State in her well-documented exposition of the economic, educational, political and social handicaps of Latin Americans. It is axiomatic that people of an area are more likely to heed one of their own than an outsider.

One of the important recommendations of the book is a series of legislative enactments, including an anti-discriminatory constitutional amendment and industrial law, revision of school fund apportionment and abolition of both the fee system and the poll tax. Gustavo Ortiz Hernán in a well-written foreword has some thought-provoking statements: "... there are people who believe in coercion by law and in punishment; there are others who believe in education. This argument is, to a great extent, futile. Education, of course, is ultimately the only cure (even though) in the attack upon discrimination, the enactment of certain legal measures is no doubt necessary. . . . But 'timing' is important. You cannot legislate people into human brotherliness" (p. xviii).

In line with recent trends to attempt to solve problems of minorities en masse rather than by singling out special groups is the suggestion that anti-discrimination laws "must apply to all persons similarly situated, and this would, of course, include Negroes, as well as persons of Mexican, English, German, Jewish, or other ancestry" (p. 165). Herein is tacit criticism of the tendencies of minorities to work for their own people while ignoring and sometimes even opposing, efforts of groups "similarly situated." Other shortcomings of Latin Americans are pointed out: individualism, lack of cooperation, petty jealousies, and the desire on the part of some to curry



favor with politicians at the expense of their own group. (p. 228).

An utterly fair book, the volume contains detailed record of good accomplished, notably the educational workshops under the auspices of the Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Texas State Department of Education; the aid given migratory workers by the Farm Labor Office through county agents; the Good Neighbor Commission as a clearing house for facts; the work of the Fair Employment Practices Committee, and others.

Analysis of prejudice by the Good Neighbor Commission from a wealth of facts brought to its attention led to the conclusion that "the matter of refusal of service in places of business and amusement was not . . . the chief problem." Rather, "such incidents, in the main, represent 'symptoms of basic maladjustments' instead of outright antagonism toward Latin Americans as such" (p. 209). Admitting that this line of reasoning does not hold true for the fifteen per cent of the reported cases of discrimination against Latin Americans in uniform or of high economic status, the author proceeds to detail cases of both types. Here is material which is valuable for the student who feels that not enough is known of prejudice and the means to combat it effectively.

These are details. The main contribution of the book is the clear, incisive presentation of facts and interpretation and an appeal to the social conscience of Texas, and, by implication, other areas, to take action in the interest of social justice and sound democracy. It remains to be seen what reception the book will get, what action it will lead to.

GERALD J. SCHNEPP, S.M.

*McBride High School, St. Louis 13, Mo.*

*The Spoilage.* By Dorothy Swaine Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1946. Pp. xx+388. \$3.75.

This study incorporates research in the segregation camps at Tule Lake in Northern California, Poston in Arizona and the Minidoka project in Idaho as well as "spot observations" in five of the other Federal War Relocation Authority centers established to care for the evacuated Japanese. A competent staff under the direction of the two authors set out with the purpose of analysing the "social demography of forced mass migration and voluntary resettlement, with special reference to the dislocation of habits and changes of attitudes produced by the experience" (p. v), the modifications of the cultures involved, the social psychology of collective adjustment, the economic conditions presented by the dislocation, and the initiation and development of administrative procedures with controls from without and pressures from within.

The rather ambitious program had to be modified somewhat due to factors beyond the control of the investigators. The first volume of the study limits itself to a study of that segment of the Japanese in America whose status was impaired — the group stigmatized as disloyal — the "spoilage."



The closing paragraph of the book gives a concise summary of the whole. "Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, they had suffered confinement behind barbed wire. They had been stigmatized as disloyal on grounds often far removed from any criterion of political allegiance. They had been at the mercy of administrative agencies working at cross-purposes. They had yielded to parental compulsion to hold the family intact. They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in camp. They had become terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the American public, and they had finally renounced their irreparably depreciated American citizenship" (p. 361).

Some of the members of the investigating staff were Japanese and their participant observation had a poignancy that at times breaks through the narration of experiences. Yet, withal, there is a detachment in reporting that is singularly objective. The "spoilage" resulted very often from a number of bewildering conditions that were, at times, as unfair as they were ruthless. From evacuation to renunciation there are thirteen chapters full of details that make the reader appreciate the meaning of these experiences to those undergoing them and in retrospect — hindsight is always more reasonable — the needlessness of much that masqueraded as "military necessity."

The work portrays step by step the history of the conflict of loyalties between various groups, from loyalty to family to loyalty to Japan or the United States, and from fear of the American public to fear of organized pressure groups capitalizing on the blundering program of evacuation and resettlement. For a group — the "spoilage" — it leaves no alternative but renunciation of American citizenship.

Unfortunately the book comes to no conclusions. It is an excellent case book recording the process of disintegration of patriotism. The sociological implications are never given as residues, no hypotheses are proposed. But it is only fair to state that the authors recognize this. The reader anxious to get a first-hand picture of the reaction of the evacuees will be satisfied but one looking for a synthesis of the sociologically relevant material is doomed to disappointment. The book will serve, however, as a basis for study of the conduct of evacuees, the psychology of war fears, the influences of pressure groups, the reaction of a frustrated mass of people and the weaving, from within the group and from without, of the pattern of "spoilage."

VAN F. CHRISTOPH, S.J.

*Gonzaga University, Spokane 11, Washington*

*The Navaho.* By Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946. Pp. xx+258. \$4.50.

The U. S. Office of Indian Affairs and the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago have jointly promoted a number of "Personality" studies among five Indian Tribes. This monograph on the Navaho by Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton is the third to appear in the series reporting the results of this project.

Although the authors have endeavored to deal with general problems of acculturation they have consistently pointed to actual effects resulting from recent introductions of the "white man's" technology. Most of the failures are due to "lack of understanding of certain human factors," consideration of human needs and comprehension of problems of human relations. Since the psychological processes of the Navaho are different, all the efficiency and expertness of the government's agents seem to have done aught else than to stir up opposition and even open hostility. The deeper meaningful aspects of the Navaho ways of doing things remain unappreciated by government officials. Many examples are cited in which the Navaho interpreted the well-meant efforts of those sent out to help them as measures undertaken by an enemy to destroy their people. The frequent repetition of similar experiences simply widened the gap between the government and "The People."

Kluckhohn and Leighton are convinced that the disrupting effects of the Indian agents' "plans" for Navaho improvement would have been avoided had there been some sort of preparation for each move. One is, however, very skeptical of the benefits of preliminary instruction in a milieu charged with suspicion for about a hundred years. It is also surprising not to find in the whole book, one single criticism directed at the uncompromising attitude of the Navaho. A doctor's soothing words could hardly avail much with a patient always suspicious of being poisoned. This unilateral approach of the authors, at least to this reviewer, seems so one-sided as to be unfair.

The attitude of the missionaries is severely criticized. They are accused of "senseless brutality" to Indian children. This brutality is interpreted in this fashion: "It may be suspected that in the mission schools . . . this brutality arose in part out of the frustrations experienced by missionaries and their assistants" (p. 84). The authors' *Interpretation* of the missionaries' success (or lack of it) among the Navaho is somewhat insultingly stated: "Of those who practice the Christian religion exclusively, it is merely factual (sic!) to point out that a higher proportion are directly or indirectly dependent on the missions for their livelihood" (p. 81). While doubting whether the term religion can be applied to Navaho belief and practice at all (in the sense used in western civilization) they describe this phase of Navaho practically as one series of "fears." They seem to accept as their definition of religion that of some unnamed famous anthropologist as "man's confession of impotence in certain matters" (p. 122). Surely from a man like Kluckhohn who for a year sat in Vienna at the feet of that leading authority on primitive religion, Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V. D., one might expect a more adequate appraisal.

S. A. SIEBER, S.V. D.

St. Mary's Mission House, Techny, Illinois

*Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness: A Survey of the Social Psychology of Physique and Disability.* By R. G. Barker, B. A. Wright and M. R. Gonick. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1946. Pp. ix+372. \$2.00.

This study carried out under the direction of the Committee on Social Adjustment of the Social Science Research Council has a timely significance because of the greatly increased number of persons who must face the problem of adjustment to physical handicap since the end of World War II. Its authors attempt to develop a theoretical frame work of the interrelations between constitutional disabilities and illnesses and the person's reactions to them; and their conceptual system may be expected to serve as a challenge to existing theories in such a way as to stimulate more searching and precise analysis. While they concede that all kinds of behavior are affected by somatopsychological influences they focus their review upon those "phases of behavior on which research appears to be most productive at the present time: social behavior and personality" (p. 6). Their critical review and interpretation of the available literature on the effect upon personality and behavior of physical size, muscular strength, and motor ability, auditory impairments, tuberculosis, orthopedic disabilities, and acute illness will be invaluable to those engaged in programs of vocational rehabilitation, to social workers in hospitals and clinics, and to all others who are concerned with programs of successful living for the physically handicapped.

Several hundred studies have been reviewed and the research summaries at the end of the chapters bring together for critical evaluation previous studies relating to such topics as Social Behavior and Personality Correlates of Obesity, Social Behavior and the Personality Correlates of Orthopedic Disability and others. These surveys of literature point to the fact that previous studies have been suggestive rather than conclusive because of serious limitations in method or because of the small number of cases used.

The need for projects involving the cooperation of many specialists engaged in research in this field is made evident if a significant body of knowledge concerning adjustment to physical handicap and illness is to be accumulated. The authors point out that the state of our knowledge is little above folk lore in many respects and yet so urgent are the problems that such knowledge as exists must serve as the basis for important decisions in such matters as doctor-patient relations, occupational therapy regimes, hospital organization, industrial employment, vocational employment programs and benefits for disabled veterans.

Personal documents prepared by disabled persons themselves or with their aid are used as a means to understand the more deeply personal and emotional problems of the handicapped and their social situation as they see it. Among these are Hathaway's *The Little Locksmith*, one of the most sensitive and intuitive stories of physical handicap; and Carlson's *Born That Way* which is the autobiography of a spastic. Social case histories are utilized also and the comparison of the social environment and behavior of two college girls suffering physical handicap as a result of poliomyelitis on the basis of their responses to written and oral questions and informal interviews gives a profitable example of the use of case history material in research and the way in which it can be utilized to reveal its significance.

Bibliographies on the somatopsychological significance of physique covering 53 pages will be useful to students who undertake research in this field in the future.

RUTH REED

*Catholic University of America, School of Social Service,  
Washington 17, D. C.*

*The Social System of the Modern Factory, The Strike: A Social Analysis.* By W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low. Yankee City Series, Volume IV. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Pp. xvii+245. \$3.00.

A strike in the major industry of a city is subjected to thorough analysis. The history of the industrial and social life of the community is recounted in detail after careful research. Now why should all the workers in the shoe industry suddenly and contrary to expectations go out on strike and become unionized? The authors set down economic factors operative because of the depression and list specific grievances, but initiate a quest for a causal explanation at a more generic level. From their study of a particular case, they seek to isolate factors basic to modern industrial conflict.

Tracing the transition from the craftsman to the machine operator, the conclusion is drawn that the machine has taken virtue and respect from the worker, breaking down the skill hierarchy which has dominated his occupation. The machine is made the obstacle to the realization of the American tradition that skilled work should issue in success. With the road to occupational progress through skill blocked off, the workers have sought security through forms of collective solidarity.

A record basic cause for friction is stated in the increasing loss of local control of the industry because of vertical extension of the managerial hierarchy with its absentee control, as well as because of horizontal extension across factory and community lines into huge associations. Whereas in earlier days of personal association between employers and employees, "the managers of men were God," the current situation is expressed in the caption: "little men and aliens run things now." Thus local solidarity and personal responsibility have lost their unifying motivating force.

Faced with obstacles to upward mobility in the factory system, reduced to an almost impersonal status, the workers sought strength in collective action. The security and prestige they could no longer find in individual skill were to be achieved through bargaining power and social mobility within the union.

The logic and insight of the authors in the analysis of the shoe strike is true and sure. As they conclude with the Blue Print of Tomorrow certain statements appear beyond dispute. There is a correlation between the blocking of occupational status through skill and the trend toward solidarity through unions. Again the gigantic size of both industries and of unions seems to necessitate a third party as referee. The necessity of planning economic life on both a national and an international scale is well substantiated. On the whole, the

research presents a clear investigation into a problem rather than a blue print of a solution. DAVID W. TWOMEY, S.J.

*College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.*

*The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization.* By Elton Mayo. Boston: Harvard University, Graduate School of Business Administration, Division of Research, 1945. Pp. xvii+150. \$2.50.

The Division of Research of the Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University was organized in 1926; its purpose was to set up and to direct scientific research concerned with workers and their work in industrial plants. The individual worker was studied actually in his job situation, with attention given to both his physical and his social environment. The first comprehensive report on this research, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, was published in 1933, reprinted in 1946. This is the second comprehensive report. Another, not yet completed, is anticipated under the title *The Political Problems of an Industrial Civilization*.

The first half of this book is presented under the heading, Science and Society. Part two is entitled The Clinical Approach. The later half, as its heading indicates, is very largely factual, concerning itself with accounts of clinical research done in a number of industrial situations. Patterns of inquiry are described; difficulties encountered are discussed, together with devices employed to surmount them; and changes in attitudes and theories held by the research group are accounted for. The cases presented seem to establish the validity of the methods employed, and to emphasize the desirability of conducting many more such inquiries into group and intergroup problems of our society.

Sociologists are likely to be more generally interested in part one of this report than in its later half. Under chapter headings entitled "The Seamy Side of Progress" and "The Rabble Hypothesis and its Corollary, the State Absolute," Professor Mayo enunciates the thesis that a social organization suited to an *established* society, such as those existing until a century ago, is altogether unsuited to an *adaptive* society, the form of society found in our time. His thesis further says that the social organization has not changed during this last century, that we are trying to solve the problems of modern adaptive societies with social devices as outdated as the mechanical devices of a hundred years ago, that the solution can not be found by reverting to the older form of society, and that the social sciences need to develop through clinical and laboratory studies new skills of cooperation and collaboration.

The book is not of even merit throughout. There were times when this reviewer could not accept the argument or the conclusion reached by Professor Mayo. Nevertheless, it is a notable contribution to the discipline of industrial sociology; and it is likely to be a stimulating challenge to all who read it, especially to sociologists, economists, political scientists, and psychologists.

F. W. GROSE

*Notre Dame College, South Euclid, Ohio*

*Labor and the Law.* By Charles O. Gregory. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1946. Pp. 467. \$5.00.

The fruit of long years of teaching, of experience in governmental labor agencies, and as a permanent arbitrator has ripened into this book, which apparently is the culmination of the author's legalistic philosophy of labor unions. It is not a series of separate opinions but a connected legalistic theory. It is very objective, very fair, yet assertively confident in the correctness of its own stand. It is instructive and very helpful. It contributes greatly to the clarification of legalistic problems regarding the status of unions.

Mr. Gregory while professedly legalistic is never unmindful of the social and political status of the object of his study, labor. Though he never once admits or mentions it, his social, political and legal judgments seem impregnated with natural moral justice.

The burden of his argument is that the courts have been particularly inimical to labor. He thinks the decisions of the Supreme Court have been especially confusing; first, in building up common law decisions according to its own preferred economic theories; and secondly, in the post New Deal belaboring of the Constitution and the law, to come to politically expedient decisions. He sees in all this an unjustifiable usurpation of the prerogatives of Congress.

His opinion of the Supreme Court is very sharp and definite. "It this were not such a serious matter, it would be amusing. The Supreme Court is mired so deeply in its own complicated circuitry of words that it cannot get out gracefully unless the infusion of new members enables a break from its present position or unless Congress saves the day with a statute . . ." (p. 287).

"In spite of Congress' best intentions from now on, it appears that the fate of our future labor relations policy lies in the hands of the Supreme Court. What that Court may do next is hard to tell. In view of the power it has already asserted over the legislative prerogative to shape a workable labor policy, it must be conceded that Congress is in a dubious position. For the Court seems determined to foster a uniform labor policy of its own conception for the nation as a whole, regardless of the wishes of Congress, and the state legislatures and courts. And in doing so it seems to care little that it is building on the liberal policies first enunciated by a Congress which might wish to reconsider and revise some of those policies. This may seem an extreme assertion to make, but it must be recalled that the Court has already taken some extraordinary forced and inconsistent positions to place our labor relations law where it now stands" (p. 436).

The contents of the book covers the major decisions affecting labor legislation as well as certain favored court doctrines like those of criminal conspiracy, monopolistic and competitive practices in the free enterprise system. Strikes, boycotts, the Sherman Act, the National Labor Relations Act, picketing, free speech, collective bargaining contract and procedures, and arbitration are each adequately treated in separate chapters.



The thesis of the book is definitely tenable and well bolstered with strong arguments. It ought to be more broadly understood by the American public to whom it is addressed. Unfortunately it is long and not always easy reading which will tend to limit the number of readers, but it is well worth the time necessary to put into it. It is only very slightly marred by several unexpected colloquialisms.

EDWARD J. GELINEAU

*St. Michael's College Labor School, Winooski Park, Vt.*

*Labor Education in Universities.* By Caroline F. Ware. New York: American Labor Education Service, 1776 Broadway. 1946. Pp. 138. \$1.04.

Miss Ware's very substantial study should be in the hands of all forward-looking city colleges and universities. It will be an invaluable guide to those already in the adult-worker education field, as well as to those who realize the need of expansion of present offerings. The booklet gives a brief history of labor education in the United States, followed by a survey of types of labor education programs offered by institutions of higher learning, their content and method, the teaching personnel and recruiting of students, methods of finance and other details. Not only are the dry bones of organization fully portrayed as a result of receiving questionnaires, but the ideas of the various directors of ten schools are studied in detail, with their aims, methods, and difficulties, reported in very graphic fashion.

The limitations of the study preclude mention of worker education through ACTU groups, the NCWC Social Action Department and other general programs; Catholics, however, are given their full place. Of the ten institutions fully reported on, two are Catholic: St. Joseph's College Institute in Philadelphia and the University of Detroit. It is probably only incidental that both the latter are conducted by Jesuits, though of course the Jesuits have by far the greater number of labor schools in the country. On pp. 16, 23 one might misinterpret the wording to mean that the Jesuits have a special Vatican mission of their own to educate people in problems of the social order, whereas of course the Papal directives in the social encyclicals were general, rather than specifically to any one religious group. Since nothing along the lines of the method of the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford seems to be given in America, one wonders if something might not be learned from this other successful, and famous, Jesuit undertaking in the field of worker-education.

EVA J. ROSS

*Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.*

*Conditions of Civilized Living.* By Robert Ulrich. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1946. Pp. 251. \$3.75.

If, amidst this shattered world, we wish to preserve the goods of civilization for our children we must realize — even more, constantly materialize — the basic conditions under which a healthy and productive society can grow and persist. According to Dr. Ulrich's



admirable summary, there must first be sufficient opportunities for physical survival, such as food, shelter, and warmth; second, there must be an opportunity to work; third, a people must have standards of excellence; fourth, a people must have the possibility to think freely and courageously; fifth, it must have faith; and sixth, it must have the experience of sharing and love. From these conditions, Dr. Ulrich concludes, depend all the other properties of a civilized life.

Thus this amply rewarding book represents a study in fundamental human experience, or one could also say, a study of human existence in its most universal qualities. Its significance lies in the fact that a professor of education at Harvard University's Graduate School of Education has entered the lists on the side of the small but growing army of thoughtful men who are in open rebellion against American materialism.

We are now living in a period when men are again longing for comprehensiveness and catholicity of thought. But such qualities, as Dr. Ulrich properly observes, cannot be achieved without some metaphysics, or without some theology. For the principles which are necessary for a synthetic aspect of the problems of life cannot be found in strict and immediate experience. That is the reason why the category of scientific exactness has failed to satisfy the gropings of the human mind. It has failed not because it is negligible but, on the contrary, because it is incomplete and insufficient.

Granted these premises, Dr. Ulrich does not call for a battle against science but rather for a new concept of philosophy or comprehensive scholarship which, as a revival of old though unfulfilled aspirations, would take into its stream of thought all that modern science, observation and speculation can contribute to the understanding of man and the universe. The new philosophy, he contends, must be catholic also in that it trespasses both the regional and the dogmatic boundaries in which the traditional philosophies and institutionalized religions of the West have so far been imprisoned.

It is precisely here that we find the major limitation in Dr. Ulrich's study. It may be observed that if he is not satisfied with contemporary Christianity then it would be the policy of wisdom to look for narrowness, rigidity or superstition in Christians rather than in the Universal Church. Despite this limitation, Catholic sociologists will recognize in Dr. Ulrich a friend and ally. His book deserves to be widely read and discussed in Catholic educational circles.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

*School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University,  
Washington 7, D. C.*

*The Dynamics of Learning.* By Nathaniel Cantor. Buffalo, New York: Foster and Stewart, 1946. Pp. x+282. \$3.00.

"One of the great difficulties confronting a teacher is to learn to keep quiet in the classroom . . . the point of view maintained in this study is that the course belongs to the students and that, to a large extent, they determine how it shall be conducted" (pp. 173-174). This quotation aptly characterizes the spirit and content of Doctor

Cantor's study, which is an outgrowth of his interest and investigations in determining how college students learn.

It is not a comprehensive textbook or treatise, as the title might suggest, but a report on experience with a method of conducting college courses in social science.

The data for the study was acquired in courses entitled "Crime and Society," and "Culture and Human Behavior," given by the author in the department of sociology at the University of Buffalo. The guided-discussion method was used almost exclusively and stenographic and other records were kept. Much of the book, therefore, consists of pertinent extracts from student-teacher discussion in class, or in counseling sessions, plus quotations from the written reactions of students to assigned readings and class discussion. This data is employed by Professor Cantor to illustrate selected factors in the learning process.

Discarding the lecture method, all information-giving activities by the instructor in class were dispensed with and outside reading substituted. The role of the instructor (Dr. Cantor) in class was confined to guiding and stimulating the reactions of students to what had been read. Intellectual development was the objective of this learning experience: "self-criticism, self-discipline, self-motivation and a willingness to be responsible for one's own decisions" (p. x).

Professional students of the history of educational philosophy and authorities on modern pupil-centered psychologies of education are not likely to find much which is particularly new in the author's interpretations and convictions, however illuminating the case material may be. The claim that the point of view represents "a radical departure from traditional methods of instruction" (p. x) is valid only if by "traditional" is meant the prevailing lecture method in the fields of social and behavioral science in higher education. Content and research-minded college teachers, however, should find the study stimulating and suggestive; perhaps even productive of an examination of conscience into the efficacy of their present method of instructing young men and women. J. J. BURNS

*Nazareth College, Kalamazoo, Michigan*

*Social Insight Through Short Stories.* An anthology edited by Josephine Strode. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946. Pp. 285. \$3.00.

Bringing together a distinguished group of American and British authors, Miss Strode's anthology serves a dual purpose: it offers entertainment of an artistic calibre, and it provides a useful selection of short stories for social workers, psychologists, educators, and sociologists. While it is true that another editor might have made a different and equally valuable anthology, there are certain aspects of this collection which should not be overlooked.

The book will undoubtedly have more value as a supplement to case work classes, or to guidance work than to sociology, although many teachers will find that the craftsmanship of the writing illustrates in a flash, mental attitudes of certain minority groups, social

conditions among underprivileged people, the effects of environmental pressures etc. The stories lend an impression of vivid reality similar to that given by *genre* paintings. Some stories stand out as particularly valuable for purposes of seminar discussion and to increase the reader's awareness of subtleties in human relationships: *The Ladies Call On Mr. Pussick*, by Owen Francis; *Metropolitan Incident*, by Clement R. Hoopes; *Five Kids from East Side*, by Connie McCrae; *An Evacuated Child*, by Howard Spring; *A Dime a Throw*, by Jerome Weidman; and *The Salt of the Earth*, by Rebecca West.

Although Miss Strode suggests that each teacher will be able to utilize the material without further need of analysis, social workers will find that Miss Strode's excellent book *Social Skills in Case Work* will offer a skillfully prepared background for the stories.

America with its strange and fascinating mixtures of peoples and races, of creeds and cultures, has an evident need of people with social insight as well as knowledge. For this reason anyone who deals with human beings can gain a sharper sense of understanding from these stories. It is a pity that the collection does not contain at least one good story illustrating the effect of religion and religious practices on human lives, since many social scientists need to become more aware of religion as a social fact. Some *social insight* into this factor would make an enlightening and valuable addition to this anthology.

JEAN F. HEWITT

National Catholic Welfare Conference, Youth Department,  
Washington 5, D. C.

*The Scot in History*. By Wallace Notestein. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946. Pp. xvii+371. \$4.00.

Catholic readers of this book will be especially interested in Part II, entitled: "The Tides and Storms of Religious Change." Chapters X and XI concern themselves respectively with "The Scottish Way of the Reformation" and "Mary, Queen of Scots, John Knox." In this section of the book the author tries to explain the reason for the transformation of Scotland from a Catholic nation into one in which a dour type of Presbyterianism held sway. He does not paint an attractive picture of the clergy in sixteenth century Scotland. True, a detailed analysis is not made. Instead, the author does furnish some evidence to show that clerical celibacy, for example, was often not observed. It is the author's contention that the rank and file of the people were scandalized to such a degree by many of the clergy that attachment to the Catholic Church disappeared. It is not possible to disregard a charge of that nature, even though one may argue that the majority of the clergy were circumspect in their private as well as in their public life. But it is hard to understand why Scotland fell away from the Catholic Church so readily, while Ireland, for example, similar in many ways to Scotland, held tenaciously to the ancient faith.

In explanation, the author admits that an aggressive minority was perhaps responsible, and that the masses of the people took no active

part in the final decision. Hence, he states: "A minority of churchmen, a minority of nobles, a minority of burghs were involved in the extraordinary events that put Protestantism on top. Those minorities were well led and were no doubt the aggressive members of their classes. It was as if the supporters of the old Roman Church had little will to resist the innovators" (p. 109). With reference to the motives prompting the nobles, Mr. Notestein observes: "These men could not fail to have seen how the English gentry and nobility had profited from the distribution of the monastic lands of England. Why should they not do equally well in plundering the Church lands of Scotland? Good valley lands were worth the renunciation of the mass" [sic] (p. 110).

Social minded historians will admire the analysis found in such chapters as "The Women" and "Poverty and Character" in Part I, which is concerned with the early history of Scotland. Part III has fourteen chapters devoted to "The Modern Scots." There is much in them relative to the plight of the farmer, but the city worker is also studied. The influence of geography, of politics, and of many other forces upon the Scot are studied in an effort, and in the opinion of this reviewer, in a successful effort to make clear the precise contributions that Scots have made to their own nation and to the world in general. You need not be a Scot to learn much of interest and importance from reading this well written book, which cuts across the fields of history, government, economics, and sociology.

PAUL KINIERY

*Loyola University, Chicago 11, Illinois*

*Struggle for Freedom: The History of Anglo-American Liberty from the Charter of Henry I to the Present Day.* By Sterling E. Edmunds. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1946. Pp. xiii+309. \$4.50.

If "History should be written not from the Bar, but from the Bench," as Hilaire Belloc, not always faithful to his own injunction, once declared, then this essay by the late professor of international law at St. Louis University must be called by some other name. It is in fact a brief, submitted to prove that the ancient Anglo-Saxon liberties, buffeted in England by absolute sovereigns and omnipotent parliaments, but nobly enshrined in the Constitution of the United States, now have been imperiled and all but lost through the process of "democratization" which has characterized American and Western history. By amendment, by judicial interpretation, and by usage, the Constitution has been remolded by an "almighty democratic majority" (p. 243).

The argument is unbelievably "strict constructionist." It includes the expression of regret over the atrophy of the electoral college and the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment providing for popular election of senators, both of which facilitated the transformation of the "republic" into a "democracy." In Professor Edmunds' view, the "unequal and discriminatory" income tax (p. 159), foisted upon the people by greedy politicians in the congress and in the state

legislatures which ratified the Sixteenth Amendment, breached the essential principle of equality of rights by giving that principle economic connotations. As a result social classes have arisen and socialistic social workers, with the Treasury open to them, have sponsored such iniquitous measures as that establishing the Children's Bureau, the Woman's Suffrage Amendment, the proposed Child Labor Amendment, the Social Security Act, federal aid to education, and the like. But the principle had been breached even earlier by the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887, which was followed by such usurpations of power as the Pure Food and Drug Act, the White Slave Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the National Labor Relations Act, and all the administrative "tribunals" which combine the functions of legislators, administrators, prosecutors, and judges within one body. In short, government and people, dominated by aliens who replaced the Anglo-Saxon founders, have both been guilty of "apostasy" and stand today in a state of "spiritual disintegration" (p. 212).

Father Joseph Husslein, S.J., the general editor of the Science and Culture Series, in which this volume appears, has injected a long footnote (pp. 187-188) to temper the author's strictures somewhat, but even this falls short of the mark. This reviewer was born too late to believe that the state governments alone might have coped adequately with the problems of our society and that the federal government might have maintained the tempo of the gilded age. The growth of statism in our nation and the steady abandonment of a sound jurisprudence will not be checked by an embittered legalistic sigh for a nineteenth-century golden past.

C. J. NUESSE

*The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.*

*The Shaping of the American Tradition.* By Louis M. Hacker and Helene S. Zahler. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xxiv+1247. Textbook edition \$6.

The authors' aim is to show the development and the unique quality of American life and thought. There are eleven sections in the book, beginning with the early settlement of America in Part One, the Revolution in Part Two, and continuing down to the New Deal and World War II in the final section.

In turn, each section follows a set plan of five parts. First, there is a fairly complete introduction of history and comment, followed by readings illustrative of certain facts or ideas which the author wishes to point up, each of the readings preceded by a brief introductory note. Then follow four more parts for each section, entitled respectively The American Mind, the American Scene, American Problems, The United States and the World. Each of these parts follows the general lines of the first: an introduction followed by some six to twenty-four source readings, each reading with its own valuable introduction.

As a supplement to an American history and civilization course the work seems of the utmost value. It could doubtless be used as a

text for such a course, with the requisite connective lectures, but one cannot imagine any teacher wishing to saddle a student with a textbook of such size and weight. Encyclopaedic in size and content, it ought to find a ready sale as a reference work for the well-equipped home library, and all general libraries and schools. Nowhere else has such an important collection of sources been compiled at so reasonable a price to give a clear picture of our country and its development.

EVA J. ROSS

*Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.*

### SHORT NOTICES

*Contemporary Social Problems*. 3rd edition. By H. A. Phelps. New York: Prentice Hall, 1947. Pp. xiv+845. \$5.35 trade edition; \$4.00 text edition.

Professor Phelps' book has always been a favorite with teachers of social problems. It is adult in presentation and contains a satisfying number of facts. This new edition follows the pattern of the old, with the addition of some new statistics and book references. One wonders if the author could not have found some more up-to-date statistics on occasion, and he might perhaps have done a better job on revising the bibliographies, e.g. Gillin's "Criminology and Penology" had a new edition in 1945, but an earlier one was noted in the bibliography. One wishes, too, that more attention had been paid to possible solutions of our problems. Because of the factual presentation and the overall discussion of social problems both at the beginning and at the end of the book, this text will undoubtedly prove popular in the classroom, and journalists and others will welcome the information that it brings.

*A Preface to Economics*. By L. V. Chandler. New York: Harper & Bros., 1947. Pp. ix+289. \$2.50.

Here is a book which will give a very adequate picture of the organization and functioning of capitalism to students who are beginning their economic studies, either in an introductory course, or by means of the freshman orientation course in social sciences; it would also prove extremely useful as subsidiary reading for those who have not made a formal study of economics but who wish to understand something of the subject for general knowledge, or for a course such as one in comparative economic systems. It can be highly recommended.

*Centenary Charter Lectures in Modern Political History*. Edited by W. J. Schlaerth, S.J. New York: Fordham University Press, 1946. Pp. 45. 75 cents.

The three lectures which are here reprinted consist of *The Two World Wars* by Halecki, *The Heritage of Jacobinism* by Brunn, and



*The Principles of Government of Emperor Francis II* by Langsam. Each is well done, and will be welcomed by political science and history scholars.

*Good Citizens: Official Handbook of the Catholic Civics Clubs of America.* Washington, D. C.: the Commission on American Citizenship, The Catholic University of America, 1946. Pp. 40. 10 cents.

*The Teaching of Current Affairs: A Teacher's Manual.* Washington, D. C.: The Commission on American Citizenship, The Catholic University of America, 1946. Pp. 61. 10 cents.

Both of these pamphlets are distributed by George A. Pflaum Publishers, Inc., of 124 East Third Street, Dayton, Ohio and may be ordered directly from this company. They are indispensable to the Catholic high school teacher, and are written with the same attention to detail and the same constructive imagination which is evident in all the publications of the Commission on American Citizenship. Those who teach courses in social philosophy in our colleges will doubtless also find these publications of value to them. The price, in these days, provides bargain-value.

*The Story of a Discussion Program.* New York: Adult Education Council, 254 Fourth Avenue, 1947. Pp. 94. \$1.00.

This paper-bound booklet will be valuable to discussion leaders and others interested in the education of the public. It shows the value of discussion programs on public issues for veterans and others, and gives information about how to conduct meetings. There are bibliographies and comments on three current topics: employment, housing, and education. The price seems to be somewhat excessive.

*The Catholic Youth Bureau of Pittsburgh. 21st Annual Report.* Pittsburgh 1, Pa.: Stephen Foster Community Center, 1947. No price.

Catholics will be interested in this annual report, in that it shows the sizeable numbers dealt with by the Pittsburgh Catholic Youth Bureau. Of the 1946 total of 462 delinquent boys arraigned before the local juvenile court, 221 were Catholic and helped by members of the Bureau by interviews, counselling, and representation. Nearly 1,000 young people were registered in the Homestead Division, and about 700 in the outlying center of Braddock, and 58 were cared for in camp. The Catholic children of Pittsburgh are fortunate to have such well-organized comprehensive recreational care.

#### DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

*Catholics and the Practice of the Faith: A Census Study of the Diocese of St. Augustine.* By George A. Kelly. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946. Pp. xiii+224. \$2.50.



*Catholic Fertility in Florida: Differential Fertility among 4,891 Florida Catholic Families.* By Thomas F. Coogan. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946. Pp. xvi+101. \$1.25.

Considerable interest has already been shown in the census studies undertaken by Fathers Kelly and Coogan for the Diocese of St. Augustine in 1944.

Priests who read the preliminary findings in the *Ecclesiastical Review* in 1944, and the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* in 1945, will want to examine the final results, which throw considerable light on census-taking, on the causes of leakage from the Church and indifferent Catholicism; on the effects of mixed marriages; and on the sad position of the Church among the Negroes of Florida (2,000 Catholics out of a total Negro population of 514,000: cf. Father Coogan's dissertation p. xiv). Sociologists have already learned some details of this pioneering work in the ACSR June 1946, Vol. VIII, 2, 124-127, and undoubtedly they will be interested in the findings as well as in the methodology. Anyone who has questioned the value of the religious education in our Catholic schools will also find much discussion material when he has read what both authors have to say.

Father Coogan's report follows the plan of the Whelpton and Kizer Indianapolis survey, showing the connection between fertility and religion, home ownership, occupation, education, place of birth, and fertility of parents. Father Kelly's work is more original and also of more general appeal, but both dissertations are of distinct value.

PERIODICAL REVIEWS

C. J. NUESSE, Editor

The Catholic University of America  
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Recent articles with special pertinence for Catholic sociologists

De Coninck, Léon, S.J., "Les problèmes de l'adaptation en apostolat," *Nouvelle revue théologique*, 78 (6, 7): 683-89, 799-818; 79 (3): 284-305. October, November-December 1946; March 1947.

Farrell, Walter, O.P., "Twentieth Century Apostle," *The Thomist*, 10 (2): 133-58. April 1947.

The spoken and the written word, as apostolic instruments, have been improved tremendously by the application of science and technology, yet, in Father Farrell's opinion, the actual condition of the audience to whom the modern apostle must preach has nearly nullified these improvements. The twentieth-century apostle has in this respect a more difficult task than the original twelve. The one important instrument which remains effective for him is the exposition of the apostolic message in his own life, an exposition which must be brought into the marketplace and which must be multiplied in the lives of the laity. It is urged that, from the point of view of apostolic efficiency — "for a stop to the tremendous waste of apostolic effort and to the smug illusion of great things done because great efforts have been put forth" (p. 157) — speaking and writing for unbelievers be reduced to the minimum necessary for a holding action, while the full force of these instruments is directed toward the

faithful to develop in them the fullness of Catholic living. For the laity must now share the apostolate with the clergy. This is a challenging proposal which should be examined in all its sociological ramifications and through analysis of concrete cases.

The problem of conducting the apostolate in modern industrial society is outlined in some detail by Père De Coninck, a Belgian theologian. The first of the three articles provides a theoretical framework. Adaptation is defined as establishing a fitness between two beings, in this case, by placing means in proportion to an end. "L'adaptation en apostolat est l'art de créer des convenances entre tel homme ou telle collectivité et le message du Christ" (p. 684). Four elements are involved: (1) the object, the message of Christ, from which nothing can be omitted, but which may be adapted by emphasizing certain aspects which correspond to the concrete conditions in which the hearers of the message live; (2) the recipients, individuals or collectivities, who must be dealt with in their various ages, moods, conditions of life, and who must in turn be adapted to the message; (3) the bearers of the message, who must have understanding and sympathy, psychological insight, intelligence, and countless other qualities, especially supernatural faith; (4) the methods, involving the formation

of elites, the penetration of milieus, the use of grace. In truth, "Le problème de l'adaptation est celui de l'Incarnation. L'Eglise, et tous ceux qui ont la grâce d'en être, doivent s'adapter à l'Humanité" (p. 689).

Religious instruction (in the broad sense) is analyzed within this framework in the second article. The matter of instruction must be presented in its wholeness. Some truths may be given more than usual attention because of their special relevance for existing conditions or controversies. These adaptations must be made in a sympathetic spirit. Indecent fashions, for example, cannot be combatted by dwelling upon the moral factor alone, without taking account of the love of beauty and the compelling power of custom; better to do as some Catholic ladies in a South American capital who undertook to sponsor the showing of models at once elegant and perfectly decent. Those to whom the message of Christianity is directed live in an anti-intellectual world in which materialism makes the spiritual life difficult, lassitude enfeebls the personal responsibility which human dignity requires, and the mass mind engulfs the individual. Other tendencies in modern culture may be turned away from the service of evil and utilized by the apostle: messianism, emotionalism, activism, the reaction against complexity, the cult of energy, a universal critical spirit. The many adaptations possible must be informed with charity which requires the giving of self; "L'adaptation n'a pas d'autre secret: c'est la don intelligent de soi, fait de telle sorte qu'il soit accepté" (p. 818).

The subject of the final article is the apostolate to the working world, which includes the majority of men and which has become nearly dechristianized. Both the proletariat and the "technicians" are included under this head. Within the former a distinction is made between the workers of peasant origin, who have

become *deraciés*, and those of urban origin who have been segregated ecologically, often in areas where parish contacts have not been readily available. They, too, have been removed from a Christian milieu. Technicians have very specialized roles, and by training and occupation have developed an experimental frame of mind, incapacitated for metaphysics, materialistically bent, believing in progress through science, and conceiving morality and religion as "hypothetically superfluous." To all these it is necessary to preach a Christian *mystique* of work. Industrialization need not be dechristianization, but industry must be placed in the service of man and man must serve God. Thus all matter may be humanized by the artisan. Those who bear the message of Christ, clergy and laity, must be warmly human, respectful of human dignity, workers themselves (but in their own vocations), pacific rather than belligerent in manner.

Sociologists interested in Catholic Action, religious attitudes, social control, and education will gain valuable insights from reading these articles.

Griffin, John J., "The Key to Social Stabilization: The Christian Concept of Personality," *The Magnificat*, 79 (3-5): 112-18, 173-82, 245-53. January, February, March 1947.

It is refreshing in these days when all emphasis is in the renovation of the social order is placed on planning, organization, and technique, to find a scholar emphasizing the prior need for a Christian formation of the individual human person. We have forgotten the etymological origin of the word organization — "tool" — and have endowed it with a life which it does not have. Mr. Griffin brings us back to the realization that all our doing depends on our being, and that the most essential task for the man who would *do* Christian things is to *be*

first of all an integral Christian himself.

The author traces the historical evolution of the concept of person. Then he develops at length the Christian concept which, of course, was radically different. "Security" for the Christian is metaphysical and supernatural, and stems from his relationship to his Creator, rather than in an adjustment to accidental factors. The Christian personality being developed to an eminent degree, the family and civil society benefit by it, since the perfection of societies comes from the elements of which they are composed.

A clear distinction between "person" and "personality" would have improved the articles. One fashions a personality out of an immutable person. Person is the individual substance of rational nature with all its potentialities, whereas personality is the sum total of all the actualized potentialities of a given person at a given time. Person is a metaphysical concept, whereas personality is an existential one. (PAUL M. CHRÉTIEN, *The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.*)

Keller, Edward A., C.S.C., "The Church and Our Economic System," *Ave Maria*, 65 (9-11): 263-66, 303-8, 338-41. March 1, 8, and 15, 1947.

The social philosophy of the encyclicals is a living, developing body of principles which the peoples of the world are directed to apply to their varied problems. But in this series of articles the reader is led to believe that for the United States the application has already been made, and that the teachings of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI commit Catholics to the American economic system of "free enterprise," since they "give a strong moral foundation for such a system" (p. 263). The key, but much misunderstood term, "free enterprise,"

is left vague and undefined throughout.

The articles are studded with supposedly objective generalizations like these: "our economic system is the most productive in the world due to the fact that we have furnished our workers with the best tools (capital) in the world" (p. 307); "Wages and the standard of living are increased mainly by increasing and improving the tools which workers use" (p. 265). Presumably "a little common-sense observation" will show that there is no real concentration of ownership in the United States (p. 307), and that American workers get "an adequate share" of the vast quantity of goods and services produced (pp. 307-8).

The main weakness of our economic system is held to be "maladjustment among different worker groups" (p. 339). By maladjustment Father Keller means that skilled, "rigidly-organized workers" are getting *too much* in the way of wages and unskilled, rural, and white collar workers *too little*, and that this maladjustment is found only in certain industries and geographical regions, not nationally. Hence the first goal of social justice is to strike a happy balance in the wages of these different labor groups. Several quotations from the 1940 statement of the American bishops, "The Church and the Social Order," are juxtaposed unfairly so that they are made to appear to support this position.

It is acknowledged that the social encyclicals condemn the "extreme 'laissez-faire' doctrines of the *early* English classical economists" and *nineteenth century individualism*" (p. 264; italics supplied). There is no mention, however, of the Committee for Constitutional Government, the Tool Owners' Union, and a dozen other flourishing organizations that propagandize rugged individualism *today*.

Some American "commentators,"

it is alleged, have apparently taken preconceived notions remote from the facts, and have done "no end of harm by announcing as supported by papal authority conclusions quite contrary to the real intent of the pronouncement of the Holy See" (p. 263). Father Keller mentions no names. Serious students of the social encyclicals may with some justification read and regard these articles as attempts to chain the living principles of the social encyclicals to the ball of "free enterprise." (EDWARD MARCINIAK, *Loyola University, Chicago 11, Ill.*)

Sturzo, Luigi, "Some Notes on the Problem of Education," *Thought*, 22 (84): 107-25. March 1947.

The education of the "common man" and that of the "cultured gentleman" have one and the same root and many points in common. Education is always a social activity, a process which develops in relation to two fundamental ideas:

"the self" and "the others." Educational positivism has emphasized egoistic sentiments and made man his own end. Rightly, children should learn in school the law of love of neighbor, and should obtain knowledge of their society through the study of sociology and history — all directed toward increasing social well-being. It is the function of general education to give a people, through the schooling of the children, convictions in regard to the principles it holds and to make it faithful — so far as possible — to these principles. University education should provide, beyond this, greater professional opportunities for the student, and, for society, the formation of a cultural élite. Cultured individuals and university centers have a duty to enter into social life and take a part in it. The American world, in the judgment of this distinguished visitor, suffers from a division between the cultured groups and the remainder of the population.

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